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EDITORIAL ANNOUNCEMENT

At the meeting of the Editorial Board, held in Washington during the meeting of the American Historical Association, Professor Arthur S. Aiton, of the University of Michigan, and Professor Joseph B. Lockey, of the University of California at Los Angeles, were unanimously elected members of the Board—the first for the ensuing five years, and the second for the ensuing six years. No meeting was held at Urbana in 1933 because of lack of a quorum, which accounts for the double election in 1934. Professor Aiton has already been a valued member of the Board and his reappearance on it is welcomed by his associates. Professor Lockey is too well known for his scholarly work to need any introduction to the Hispanic American Group. The two new editors have taken the place of Professor Mary Wilhelmine Williams whose term expired in 1933 and Professor J. Lloyd Mechem whose term expired in 1934. To both editors, their associates extend thanks for their unselfish work on the REVIEW.

To fill the place left vacant on the roll of Advisory Editors by the regrettable death of Professor William R. Shepherd, Professor Isaac Joslin Cox was unanimously elected. Professor Cox had previously served as an editor and he is welcomed back in his advisory capacity. It was a pleasure at the annual meeting to have Professor Herbert Eugene Bolton present—the only one of the Advisory Editors. Professor Clarence H. Haring, who had expected to attend the meeting, was unable to leave Cambridge because of an attack of influenza just before the American Historical Conference opened.

Attention is also called to the new Circulation Manager of the REVIEW, Dr. R. O. Rivera. Dr. Rivera is also Executive Secretary of the Duke University Press, under whose auspices the REVIEW is published. He has charge of all business connected with the publication of the REVIEW aside from the purely editorial work; and should be consulted with reference to renewal of subscriptions, advertisements, and other similar matters.

FOREIGN INFLUENCES ON VENEZUELAN POLITICAL THOUGHT, 1830-1930

I

Such studies as this encounter difficulties, as to research and as to the evaluation of data, which render improbable conclusions that are supported by convincing and reliable evidence. Many similar attempts to interpret the cultural and political influence of one people on another have, of course, been essayed; but, so far as I know, no standards or canons have been evolved for the accurate measurement of outside influences on a nation's thinking or action.¹ Much of the evidence adduced in attempted estimates is tentative or presumptive, and the conclusions reached have been in many cases little more than logical conjectures. One might be justified in saying that such influence is mathematically imponderable. In general, no doubt, the historian may expect the militant and revolutionary foreign idea that is released among a people to evoke from different groups zealous acceptance or emphatic denial. Still other persons, whether in unison or not, are likely to await the demonstration of adaptability of the idea to local conditions and the time when the revolutionary character of the idea has been neutralized by familiarity. Further, much of the foreign influence exerted may have been of such a nature or duration as to have left no traceable record. Likewise, of course, conditions may not have been favorable for the revelation of opinions that flow from foreign influence, supposing in the case a disposition toward expression and acknowledgment to have been felt. In

¹ Cf. C. B. Robson, *The Influence of German Thought on the Political Theory in the United States in the Nineteenth Century* (Doctoral Dissertation. Chapel Hill, 1930); H. M. Jones, *America and French Culture* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1927). Dr. Robson cites as of importance in this matter, Friedrich Gundolf, *Shakespeare und der deutsche Geist* (Berlin, 1922).

this respect, Venezuelan censorship laws have followed an uneven course. At times, such as the years 1821-1846, or the period of Crespo's dictatorship, the press has been free; at other times, as those of civil war, there have been two antagonistic official presses, with mutually exclusive censorship restrictions; and at still other times of entrenched and repressive dictatorship effective laws of restraint have permitted only works and expressions of praise of the government in power.

Historians of such topics as I am attempting have ordinarily considered some one or more of the following points of inquiry or of approach: the presence and activity of aliens in the country experiencing the influence, that is, the opportunity of contact and the human media of transmission; the residence and study of nationals in the country supposed to be influencing the people in question; quotations of approval of foreign ideas and authors and definite agitation in favor of imitation or adoption of foreign institutions or customs; the circulation or translation or republication of foreign books. These points do not cover all of the possible direct nor all of the indirect ways by which foreign influence is communicated. However that may be, I shall not in a paper of this length be able to apply all of these implied tests to the data to be treated. I am also aware that another student of the subject, as is true with reference to many other historical questions, could take the same evidence and reach different conclusions. By reason of the limitations of space and the other considerations already advanced, it might be advisable to rephrase my title to read "Some of the important foreign influences in the political thought of Venezuela during the national period".

It may be agreed at the outset that the countries which have exerted the greatest influence on Venezuelan thought have been Spain, France, the United States, Great Britain, Italy, and Switzerland. Aside from Spain, whose contribution has obviously been so complex and inclusive, that its

name would properly appear in every classification it can safely be said that the United States, France, and Switzerland have influenced constitutions, forms of government, and institutional organization; that France and Italy have influenced codes and jurisprudence; that France and the United States have influenced politics and legislation; and that France has powerfully influenced education, art, religion, dress, and social psychology. The institutions of these and other states have received notice in the juristic, political, and philosophical writings of Venezuelans.

In the matter of jurisprudence and codes, for example, there has been a partial but progressive substitution of the French and Italian for the Spanish influence. Beginning with the early and tentative steps of Francisco Aranda, Pedro P. del Castillo, and Julián Viso, this progress has been made in each branch of the law and at each stage of the revision of the codes. In legal instruction, in the civil law, and in the law of procedure, the French have won an indisputable triumph, which in the matter of civil codes they have had to share with the Italians. This last statement holds good for all the codes since that of 1873, when the famous Italian code of 1863—itsself based on the Napoleonic Code—was taken for a model. Of this, we have impressive evidence in the commentaries of Sanojo, Domínici, Ochoa, Feo, Gil Fortoul, Pietri, and Zuloaga.²

Nevertheless, we are told that the new codes are not, as is commonly believed, servile copies of the French and Italian.

² Cf. Luis Sanojo, *Instituciones de Derecho civil Venezolano* (4 vols., Caracas, Imp. Nacional, 1873); Francisco Ochoa, *Exposición del Código penal Venezolano* (Maracaibo, Imp. Bolívar, 1888); Anibal Domínici, *Commentarios al Código civil Venezolano (Reformado en 1896)*, 4 vols. (Caracas, Imp. Bolívar, 1902); Ramón F. Feo, *Estudios sobre el Código de Procedimiento venezolano* (3 vols. Caracas, 1904); Nicomedes Zuloaga, "Códigos y Leyes" in *Primer Libro Venezolano de Literatura, Ciencias y bellas Letras* (Caracas, 1895), pp. CLXIX-CLXXIX; Alejandro Pietri, hijo, *El Código civil de 1916 y sus Diferencias con el de 1904 e Indicación de los Artículos correspondientes en este y en el de 1896* (Caracas, Lib. del Comercio, 1916); José Gil Fortoul, *Filosofía penal* (Bruselas, Vroment, 1891).

Dr. Ramón F. Feo, although paying tribute to Carré, Pothier, Mazzoni, and Merlin, and to the jurisprudential excellence of the French and Italian codes, claimed that more was taken from Spanish codes and from Spanish writers, new and old, as being more applicable to Venezuelan requirements. "Our code of procedure", he stated,

has more points of conformity and similarity with the *Ley de enjuiciamiento civil española* than with the other European codes, which is explained by the fact that the editors of ours and of that law occurred to the same source—old Spanish procedure, known and practiced among both peoples. . . .³

On a preceding page, he had remarked,

This code is redrafted from that edited in 1836 by the learned jurisconsult and statesman, Dr. Francisco Aranda. . . . That work was a happy transition from the old Spanish procedure to the modern system, in which was preserved as much as was possible of what was known and practiced, eliminating from it causes of delay and of multiplied and unnecessary legal argumentation; and there was introduced all that could contribute to speedy progress in legal cases, to give greater guarantees of liberty and of regularity in proof and in discussion between the parties, and of impartiality and skill in the decisions of the courts—accommodating all to our needs, customs, and conditions.⁴

In the field of jurisprudence and in that of political philosophy, much thought has been devoted in Venezuela to the question: is it possible and practicable to adopt modern, foreign systems which may conflict with native traditions, local conditions, and long established habits? The eminent jurisconsult, Sanojo, in the introduction of his *Instituciones de Derecho civil venezolano*, concluded that neither faithful conservation of the old nor wholesale introduction of the new had been accomplished in Venezuela, but that along with the old traditions and laws there have been merged modern principles, a combination which produced a hybrid of law, the

³ Feo, *Estudios*, I. 12.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 11. Cf. opinion of Cecilio Acosta, *Obras* (Caracas, Emp. El Cojo, 1908), III. 101-108.

torment of judges and lawyers.⁵ He had arrived at this conclusion after a consideration of the famous controversy between Savigny and Thibaut—his information being derived apparently from the commentary of Lermínier—on the merits of the school of historical jurisprudence. Whatever doubts he may have entertained, he records that the commission of revision of the civil code always followed the “spirit and general system” of the Italian code.⁶

Múñoz Tébar and Florentino González have brilliantly contended that the progress of a nation is a matter of time and education, that there is nothing in race or established customs which necessarily would prevent a people from overcoming environment and inherited practices if it wills to do so by the intelligent utilization of the example of others.⁷ Angel César Rivas, Laureano Vallenilla Lanz, and Pedro M. Arcaya have held with Montesquieu and Taine that law and politics must first take into account the people and their environment (*medio*), that more important than education is heredity—racial and social. The efficacy and potentialities of foreign influence would thus be rated very differently.

In one important matter, however, there can be entertained little reasonable doubt as to the force and effect of foreign influence, that is, the progress and early success of anti-clericalism in Venezuela. With the soil ploughed and planted during the wars of independence, the harvest was gathered during the decades of the twenties and the thirties. It is uniquely significant that these metaphorical planters had sowed the seeds of a perennial. Imported, it became native. Abandoning the figure, it can be said that the devotees of French deistic thought, the Masons, and those who would make Venezuela attractive to immigration, including Protestants, desired civil control of the patronage and religious

⁵ Sanojo, *Instituciones*, I. iv.

⁶ *Ibid.*, I. xiii.

⁷ Jesús Muñoz Tébar, *El Personalismo i el Legalismo* (New York, Hernández, 1890); Florentino González, *Lecciones de Derecho constitucional* (Paris and Mexico, Lib. de Ch. Bouret, 3rd ed., 1879).

liberty. Step by step the privileges of the Church were extinguished, its financial independence was undermined and destroyed, and its social leadership impaired and eventually abolished. In the end, it became impotent and negligible as a factor in public and social life.⁸

A significant and pertinent episode in the history of the Church in northern South America was that of the differing reactions of Venezuela and New Granada to anti-clerical propaganda. The movement (1820-1830) for civil supremacy and tolerance continued to be popular in the former, whereas, in the latter, the Church successfully fought to retain its old position and was able to secure the adoption of repressive legislation. So strong was the current of this conservative reaction that the Liberator is supposed to have been borne along with it. Whether his new policy was attributable to change of conviction or to expediency and accommodation in the interests of stability, is in dispute. The clergy of both Venezuela and New Granada considered the teachings and utilitarian philosophy of Jeremy Bentham inimical to the establishment and safety of the Church. They secured from Bolívar in 1828 a prohibition of the instructional use of Bentham's works in the *colegios* and universities of Gran Colombia.⁹ This prohibition of Bentham, who was widely

⁸ Cf. Mary Watters, *A History of the Church in Venezuela, 1810-1930* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1933), chaps. ii-iv; Pedro Leturia, *La Acción diplomática de Bolívar ante Pío VII, 1820-1828* (Madrid, Razón y Fe, 1925); Nicolás E. Navarro, *La MASONARÍA y la Independencia* (Caracas, Ed. Sur-América, 1928), *La Iglesia y la MASONARÍA en Venezuela* (Caracas, Parra León Hermanos, 1928), and *La Influencia de la Iglesia en la Civilización de Venezuela* (Caracas, Tip. "La Religión", 1913). Raúl Crespo, *Libertad religiosa y Separación de la Iglesia y el Estado* (Caracas, Tip. Guttenberg, 1906). In the early stages of the agitation, a foreigner, William Burke, wrote an article designed to show the benefits derivable from religious liberty. To this claim, the churchmen replied, attempting to turn the weapons of their opponents against such reform doctrines by quoting from Montesquieu and Rousseau (see Watters, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-77, for details and references).

⁹ Watters, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-108, 114; *Memorias del General O'Leary* (Caracas, 1879-1888), VIII, 275, 297. Cf. José María Groot, *Historia eclesiástica y civil de Nueva Granada*, 5 vols. (Bogotá, 2d ed. 1891); J. D. Monsalve, *El Ideal político del Libertador, Simón Bolívar*, 2 vols. (Madrid, n.d.)

read in Venezuela as in some other sections of South America, had the characteristic effect of increasing his appeal. Despite this victory of obscurantism, his books continued to circulate, in defiance of the decree.¹⁰ With the ban on Bentham lifted by Venezuela, following the separation from Gran Colombia, his influence continued a factor actively felt until at least the middle of the century.

Another constant and undisputed influence is that of Alexander von Humboldt. The words of the wise and genial, Arístides Rojas (1826-1894), in his *Lecturas históricas*, come to reassure us on this point:

Humboldt, and always Humboldt! . . . For us, Venezuelans, Humboldt is, not only the great scientific figure of the nineteenth century, but also, the friend, the teacher, the painter of our land, the generous heart that knew how to sympathize with our misfortunes, to share our glories, and to eulogize our triumphs.

The memory of this illustrious guest and sincere interpreter of Hispanic-American civilization is transmitted as a heritage from father to son. *The Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of America* is more than an interpretation and a scientific record; it is a living and working influence.

II

Returning to our theme, extended comment on the theories of the independence movement in Venezuela is not regarded as necessary, since their relation to the ideas and example of our own revolution and to the eighteenth century British and French political philosophy is sufficiently known. That the North American and French Revolutions were studied, both openly and clandestinely by the Creole insurgents is not questioned and their operative influence upon that class may

¹⁰ In 1928, the writer purchased a volume of Bentham's works, with title pages torn off and with crude, homemade binding. The careful attempt at concealment of identity gave some verisimilitude to the claim of the bookseller that this was actually one of the copies of a prohibited work that had had its readers despite the law.

be assumed, but may this be affirmed of the Venezuelan masses? In a recent work, Dr. José Santiago Rodríguez has stated,

The democratic principles of the French Revolution, whose influence on our independence, to our way of thinking, has been erroneously exaggerated, did no more than to inflame the spirit of the Creoles who had a consciousness of the unjust inequality and submission under which they lived; but we hold that the Indians and slaves and the mixtures resultant from the cross-breeding of the two, not only failed to know that such principles had marked a step of progress for humanity, but they did not know it fifty years after the Republic had begun to function.¹¹

The young, impetuous Creoles probably did not bargain for a social revolution in behalf of Indians, Negroes, and Mestizos, when issuing their platform of "liberty, equality, and fraternity",—their thoughts being centered on their own class grievances against the European-born Spaniards and Canary islanders. They embraced French philosophy, therefore, and they did it with enthusiasm. The *Sociedad Patriótica*, organized after Miranda's return, in its action behind the lines of formal authority, brought into the situation something of the fervor of the Jacobin club, its supposed prototype. The first legislators of Venezuela, drawn in most cases from the colonial aristocracy, proclaimed the dogma of popular sovereignty, calling to the exercise of the rights of citizens, the very people who were by them depreciated. On the social inequality on which they founded their power, on the heterogeneity of races which supported their own pre-occupations of class, they raised the edifice of the democratic Republic.¹²

Whether or not the assertion of these doctrines was wise, the reader of contemporaneous comments and the debates of

¹¹ José Santiago Rodríguez, *Contribución al Estudio de la Guerra federal en Venezuela* (Caracas, Ed. Elite, 1933), I. 24.

¹² Laureano Vallenilla Lanz, *Cesarismo democrático* (Caracas, Imp. El Cojo, 1919), p. 52.

the first Venezuelan constituent congress can scarcely fail to be impressed with the devotion to principles evinced by the leaders. Given the circumstances, it would be expected that this assertion should be both extreme and premature. In this connection the comment of Heredia is significant:

The Venezuelans adopted the republican system in its purest democratic form; they abolished all distinctions of class and family, with their titles and honors; they conceded equality to free persons of color, and suppressed the *fuero personal* of the clergy, subjecting them to the judgment of ordinary courts in non-ecclesiastical matters. At a stroke and in a day, according to the example set by the constituent assembly of France, they wanted to reduce everything and put it on a level, as if it would be thus easy to destroy the hills that had been formed many centuries ago. . . . They blindly adopted what the United States of the north had set up, without remembering that the same clothing can not be fitted to bodies of such different sizes. . . .¹³

Dr. Gil Fortoul correctly stated that "The congress of 1811 drank inspiration from two fountains of political philosophy; the North American Constitution, and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man". He goes on to add:

The congress on combining the principles of one and the other in the Venezuelan charter more than once modified them in substantial manner. During the discussion of the project, Miranda, in the congress, and Bolívar and Muñoz Tébar in the Sociedad Patriótica—coryphaei the three of the centralist tendency, adversaries of the federalist tendency—opposed as inopportune the North American federalism, counseling rather the imitation of certain doctrines of the English régime. The federative organization—says Miranda—is not "sufficiently simple and clear in order that it may be permanent", nor does it conform to the "people, uses, and customs" of countries hardly liberated from the Spanish domination, and in place of uniting them in a "general mass or social body" it threatens to divide and separate them with prejudice to the common safety and with danger to independence itself. Other similar objections which appeared confirmed a little later by the disaster of 1812, and repeated then by Bolívar,

¹³ José Francisco Heredia, *Memorias sobre las Revoluciones de Venezuela* (Paris, Lib. de Garnier, 1895), pp. 31-32.

did not stop the influential men of the parliamentary majority—Ustáriz, Roscio, Tovar, Yánes, Briceño, Peñalver—and in the end the imitation of the American system triumphed, with indispensable variations.¹⁴

Later he found on analysis that:

The deputies of 1811 had always in view the constitution of the United States, and they copied it often; but because of the necessity in which they found themselves of creating everything among a people who had scarcely begun to liberate themselves from the colonial régime, they could not imitate the conciseness and temperateness of the model, so they determined to write something of a treatise on political science, with profuse theoretical definitions and frequent digressions into moral philosophy. This is noted especially in the chapter relative to the "rights of man". It is divided into four sections consecrated to define and expound the "sovereignty of the people", the "rights of man in society", the "duties of man in society", and the "duties of the body social". The following phrases with which the first section (Article III) begins will give an idea of the style that was thought most appropriate to the circumstances: "After being constituted in society men renounced that unlimited and licentious liberty proper only of the savage state to which their passions easily led them: the establishment of society presupposes the renunciation of these untoward rights, the acquisition of others more mild and pacific, and subjection to certain mutual duties".¹⁵

Venezuela's first systematic political theorist, Francisco Javier Yánes, in his *Manual político* wrote that the progenitors of the Venezuelan system were Washington, Franklin, Lafayette, Paine, Hamilton, Madison, and Jefferson, and that they found disciples in Pombo, Roscio, Ustáriz, Lozano, and others. All of this contemporaneous and subsequent testimony, it is believed, confirms the interpretation presented above.

The subsequent periods of the revolution were rich in the

¹⁴ José Gil Fortoul, *Historia constitucional de Venezuela* (2d Ed., Caracas, Parra León Her. 1930), pp. 220-221. Dr. Gil Fortoul, *ibid.*, notes that Ustáriz and Peñalver were in 1813 converted to Bolivarian centralism.

¹⁵ Gil Fortoul, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

use of, the allusion to, and the respect for, foreign opinion. The dominant personality, of course, was Bolívar—that man of genius and stature whose shadow ever lengthens over American history. Sentiment, idealism, drama, flamboyance, sensuality, eloquence, egotism, realism, brutality, mercy, compromise, courage, generalship, vision, wisdom, and statesmanship—all were there in this new Don Quijote, who was also the Liberator. With rare insight, he knew his people—the Spanish, Indian, and African elements—and, as another Montesquieu, he wanted for them a government adapted to their character and political preparation and to the crises of a struggle that was essentially a civil war. He knew the quasi-feudal order of society and economics. He saw clearly, and the vision was painfully disturbing, that the long war was a training school in practical politics. A man of daring, judgment, and prestige, whatever his social origin, with sword in hand, might cleave his way to the highest positions in government and society. That the old class stratification might remain intact had little or nothing to do with the opportunity afforded by the war to the individual and to a faction. This lesson once learned would in the aftermath, he anticipated, be followed as a rule of practice, giving satisfaction to personal ambition, promoting anarchy, and destroying the rule of law. With this comprehension of his people and of the dreaded consequences of the revolution, he combined the fruits of his travels and studies abroad and his knowledge of international relations. All are manifest in his opposition to federalism, his advocacy of the republican form of government, his political compound of personalism and legalism, his flirtation with monarchy, the Cartagena manifesto, the Jamaica letter, the Angostura and Bolivian constitutions, and the Panama venture.¹⁶

¹⁶ The best materials, aside from the documents, on Bolívar's political theory are, in the opinion of the writer: The essay of Unamuno in *Bolívar por los grandes escritores Americanos* (edited by Rufino Blanco Fombona); P. M. Arcaya, *Estudios sobre Personajes y Hechos de la Historia Venezolana* (Caracas, Tip. "Cosmos", 1911), pp. 9-52; C. Parra Pérez, *Bolívar, Contribución al Estudio de*

III

During the two decades (1820-1840) Venezuelans became acquainted with the works, among others, of Jeremy Bentham, Abbé de Pradt, Lord John Russell, Benjamin Constant, Chateaubriand, and Barthelemy. In these and later periods, the voluminous writings of the Archbishop of Malines, Pradt (1759-1837), enjoyed a great and sustained popularity. This clergyman, better known as the Abbé de Pradt, had had a versatile career as legislator, diplomat, and publicist. His political opinions had varied from extreme royalism and conservatism during the French Revolution to support of the empire. Favored, disgraced, and retired by Napoleon, and temporarily successful as courtier of the restoration, he finally enrolled in the camp of the liberals. The champion and friend of Bolívar, the advocate and prophet of Spanish-American independence, the exponent of civil control of the Church, he was a favorite of the Venezuelans among foreign writers. Of his thirty or more volumes, the following were most often quoted and read: *Les trois Ages des Colonies* (1801, 3 vols.); *Memoires historiques sur la Revolution d'Espagne* (1816); *Des Colonies et de la Revolution actuelle de l'Amérique* (1817, 2 vols.); *Les Quatres Concordats* (1818, 2 vols.); *Congrès de Panama* (1825); *Concordato de América con Roma* (1827). The man, too, was honored by literary dedications, congressional votes of thanks, and a pension.¹⁷

As is well known, Benjamin Constant, shortly after the battle of Waterloo, wrote and published important works on

sus Ideas Políticas (Paris, Editions Excelsior, 1928); V. Lecuna, *Documentos referentes a la Creación de Bolivia*, 2 vols. (Caracas, Lit. del Comercio, 1924); L. Perú de Lacroix, *Diario de Bucaramanga*; W. R. Shepherd, "Bolívar and the United States", in *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Baltimore, I. (August, 1918), 270-289; L. Vallenilla Lanz, *op. cit.*, pp. 223-263; Eloy G. González, *Bolívar en la Argentina*; Victor Andrés Belaunde, "La Constitución vitálica" in *Mercurio Peruano*, Lima, XVII. (March, 1928), 161-180.

¹⁷ For a brief biographical sketch, see Francois J. J. Lastie-Rochegonde, "Dominique de Pradt, Archeveque de Malines", in *L'Annuaire du Conseil heraldique de Franco*, X. (1897).

Principles of Politics and on *Constitutional Law*. A Spaniard, Marcial Antonio López, who was interested in the liberal revolt of 1820 in his country, translated these works, and after some rearrangement, omissions, and additions of materials which in his opinion effected a more logical synthesis of doctrine, published what he called the *Curso de Política constitucional* in three volumes. López commended Constant's books, and his own editorial labors, by claiming that the *Curso* embodied "the best doctrines of the greatest writers, as Lok [sic], Montesquieu, Filangieri, Benthan [sic] and many others; . . ."¹⁸ The earliest edition I was able to acquire, the second, is dated 1823. According to the testimony of Larrazábal in his own treatise on constitutional law, this book promptly obtained recognition and was employed as a textbook in the University of Caracas until 1854—a usage which, in view of the fact that it was written for the constitutional monarchy and in advocacy of an established church, was interesting if not surprising. In company with the Constant-López *Curso* went Constant's Commentaries on Filangieri. One edition of this last work in two volumes was the translation of another Spaniard, J. C. Pages, 1825.¹⁹ Still another commentary on Filangieri was published in 1839, this time by Bernardo Latorre. That strange work of Barthelemy, *Voyage of the young Anarcharsis to Greece*, seems to have become popular through both a Spanish (1813) and a French version (1845). Both Filangieri and Barthelemy referred to a Cretan custom of dispossessing magistrates by appeal to violence—that is, to a legalized right of revolution.

The work of Russell was a French translation published in 1821 of selected parts of the *Essay on the Government and Constitution of England from the Reign of Henry VII to our day*. Copies of this book are still easily obtainable, and, I am told, still read; and as such this book is an example of the

¹⁸ M. A. López (ed. and trans.), *Curso de Política constitucional*, 3 vols. (Burdeos, Imp. de Lawalle Joven, 1823), I. 9.

¹⁹ Benjamin Constant, *Comentario sobre la Ciencia de la Legislación de Filangieri*, 2 vols. (Paris, Lib. de F. Rosa y Comp^a, 1825).

work that survives because it is written on a subject that interests a class of readers and appears in a language that is intelligible. Lord Russell's doctrine of original contract, his whig principles, his counsels of moderation, and his quotation of Machiavelli—"He who would reform an old state and constitute in its place a free country should preserve at least the structure of ancient forms"—are often cited with approval.²⁰

A significant native product of these years was the systematic treatise of Yánes, *Manual político*, published in 1839. Since it was widely read and probably influential and since it popularized the ideas of many foreign writers, it will be pertinent to mention it as a vehicle of transmission. His footnotes seem to indicate an acquaintance with Machiavelli, Hobbes, Locke, Montesquieu, Helvetius, Rousseau, Beccaria, Abbé Raynal, Russell, Bentham, and the Federalist. Yánes retained the theory of the original social contract, employing in his construction of it the speculations of Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, and Paine. In the absence of historical data, he commits himself to a tacit contract. After his chapters on representative government, the federal system, liberty, equality, and property, he treated constitutional government. He elaborately repudiates Rousseau's idea that sovereignty cannot be represented. To him, the essence of constitutional government is to be found in the delegation of power. He held also that the legislative department might not properly amend the constitution as to its own powers.

In spite of the disorders and uncertainties of the twenties, especially those attendant on the disruption of Gran Colombia and the trying circumstances accompanying the death of Bolívar and the organization of a new government, it is believed

²⁰ Lord John Russel: *Essai sur l'histoire du Gouvernement et de la Constitution d'Angleterre depuis la Regne d'Henri VII jusqu'à nos Jours* (Paris, Lib. Rosa, 1821), p. 68-84. Another example of survival is that of Phillips's book on juries which appeared in a Spanish version in 1831 and is still available: Sir Richard Phillips, *De los Facultades y Obligaciones de los Jurados* (trans. into French by Comte; into Spanish with additions by Antonio Ortiz de Zarate y Herrera; reprinted, Caracas, Valentín Espinal, 1832).

that the study of principles was pursued, and the effort was made to enact them into law. As justifying the statement and as being an interesting analysis of the mass of legislation adopted between 1821 and 1827, I wish to quote the following:

Laws concerning taxation, public instruction, territorial division, manumission, the extinction of entails and primogenitures, the suppression of monasteries; the freedom of the press; the ecclesiastical patronage; the safeguarding of the Indians; naturalization; militia; public lands; are the legislative work of the congresses from 1821 to 1827, realized with such discretion and science, that the republic in its later political development has only proceeded to accommodate those laws to new exigencies of time. . . .²¹

The years 1830 to 1846 were those of the rule of the conservative oligarchy or *Godo* party in Venezuela. Many writers are fond of calling this a time of constitutional government, a time, prior to 1848, when the country entertained a genuine confidence in the effectiveness of democracy and political education and of the possibility of incorporating principle in practice. To the credit of the authorities, and particularly to the credit of the consistent stand taken on this point by General Carlos Soublette, there was freedom of discussion and of the press. The whole period was marked, however, by the sustained predominance and prestige of the *caudillo*, General Páez. His name and influence upheld the law. This rude soldier of the *llanos*, of little or no formal training, was a man of great sagacity and intelligence, who fortunately had respect for men so trained and for the constitution. Winning the affection, the obedience, and the support of classes differing in extremes from highest to lowest, he established a separate state, presided over the incorporation of the Venezuelan nation, and was leader of one of the traditional parties. The framers of the constitution of 1830 were thought to have been prudent when they harmonized the organization and attributes of the public powers with the incipient state of Venezuelan society, when they worked out a

²¹ N. Zuloaga, "Códigos y leyes", *op. cit.*, p. CLXIX.

compromise between the federalist system of 1811 and the unitary scheme of 1821, and when they restricted the powers of the executive, limited the franchise, and gave political control over to the most instructed class.²² Was this an illusion? Did the law rule or did the *caudillo* or dictator rule according to law out of deference to the legalists? Whatever potential disillusionment the situation had in store for some civilists, the anomaly persisted and legalism gained ground and precedents. This tenuous advantage was lost in the appeal to arms of 1846 and in the *coup d'état* of January 24, 1848, both of which in outcome benefited J. T. Monagas, and in consequence of which constitutional government in Venezuela was sacrificed, the legislature was made subservient to the executive, and the law became dictatorial fiat.

In the meanwhile, the so-called liberal party was organized. Headed by the fiery, ambitious Antonio Leocadio Guzmán, who was assisted by a group of not altogether friendly and amenable associates, such as Tomás Lander, Blas Bruzual, Felipe Larrazábal, Juan Vicente González, T. J. Sanabria, Valentín Espinal, and others, the party established journals, engaged in propaganda, and finally divided the country into warring camps.²³ They successfully, if not with entire justice, charged the ruling party with the continuation of the Spanish colonial system of social and political inequality, with unfair financial legislation, with monopoly of the offices and power, and with injustice to the memory and infidelity to the ideas of Bolívar. A bitter hatred between the parties was engendered.²⁴

²² For important discussions of the Páez régime, see Gil Fortoul, *Historia constitucional*, II, chaps. I and IX (this reference is to the edition of 1909); and Arcaya, *Estudios sobre Personajes y Hechos*, pp. 33-52.

²³ For sketches of Lander, Espinal, and Guzmán, see Ramón Azpurúa, *Biografías de hombres notables de hispano-América*, 4 vols. (Caracas, Imp. Nacional, 1877), IV.

²⁴ A. L. Guzmán was a sort of stormy petrel of Venezuelan politics, and the subject of divergent estimates as to character, honesty, good faith, and liberalism. J. M. de Rojas in his *Bosquejo histórico de Venezuela* (Paris, Garnier, 1888), p. 91, held that he was a vulgar demagogue, appealing to basest passions

It is thought by some that the discontent fomented by the liberal agitation gave expression to an unrest of an economic and social implication. Under acts of 1834 and 1836, permitting liberal credit contracts with lands and improvements hypothecated as security, an over-expansion of credit had occurred, followed by hard times and a sharp decline of commodity prices. In this situation, debtors, although they had entered into such contracts of their own choice, protested against both the law and the creditors. Further, the government in paying off the foreign debt used funds which some thought should have been diverted in aid of languishing agriculture and commerce. Andara, Gil Fortoul, and J. M. de Rojas allude to this factor in the criticism of the conservative oligarchy. It is questioned whether this crisis and the incidental discontent produced a self-conscious agrarian proletariat, or a local variant of socialist doctrine. The debtor class, however, is supposed to have joined the liberal party; and the issue was made to appear to be one between capital and labor.

The generation, 1840-1870, in which occurred the launching and agitation of the liberal party, the dynastic rule of the Monagas brothers, the conservative reaction and the constitu-

in the interest of power for himself. L. Level de Goda, in his *Historia contemporánea de Venezuela* (Barcelona, Imp. y. Lit. de José C. Sala, 1893), p. 43, after acknowledging Guzmán's talent as a writer, denounced him as a political turncoat, as "a partisan of the king of Spain, afterward an enthusiastic Bolivarist, then *paecista*, and by his last effort liberal and enemy of Páez. He lacked antecedents sufficiently clean (*limpios*), and honesty and morality to be director and chief of the great liberal party called to regenerate Venezuela". D. A. Olavarría in his *Estudios históricos-políticos* (Valencia, 1895), pp. 203-204, held with Santander and Alamo that Guzmán "merited the worst opinion of the country". Dr. Arcaya in his *Estudios sobre Personajes y Hechos*, p. 48, thinks that Guzmán was not a genuine liberal, as were Larrazábal and Rendón, and that he was in the liberal party merely to secure personal power. Dr. Gil Fortoul thinks these opinions are extreme and exaggerated. Although ascribing volubility and instability to him, he makes Guzmán fight for years for an idea, a struggle which carried him to the foot of the scaffold. Whether or not the most learned and honest of liberals, Guzmán imposed himself on the masses from whom emanate power and prestige.

tion of 1858, the federal war, the presidency of Falcón, and the beginning of the dictatorship of Guzmán Blanco, was not rich in the fruits of constructive foreign influence on political thought. With growing anarchy, with social and political dissolution, and civil war, Venezuela was preoccupied with domestic problems. There were brilliant minds and men of orientation through travel and reading, but the times were out of joint and unpropitious for their actuation, as one of the most illustrious of their number, Cecilio Acosta, said. Among these should be listed Gual, Tovar, Angel Quintero, the two Limardos, Fermín Toro, José H. García, the two Fortiques, José María de Rojas, and Juan Manuel Cajigal. Two others, perhaps more significant from our point of view than these, were the erudite scholars, Juan Vicente González and Cecilio Acosta. González (1808-1866), educator and editor, the "devourer" of books, the foremost among pamphleteers, the "Hercules" of polemics, and the "best" among prose writers, spent the whole of his short life in his native land. His *Biografía de José Félix Ribas* and the *Historia del Poder civil* (both in 1865) must always be taken into account in interpreting the revolution and the institutions of Venezuela. Neither this romantic—after the manner of his beloved Michelet—nor the more gentle and scientific Acosta (1818-1881) was able to achieve much in politics. In the eulogy penned by José Martí, Acosta is represented as the scholar who was at home equally in the arts, the sciences, and the law.²⁵ A linguist, he could and did, according to Martí, read Leibnitz in Latin, Seebohm in German, Wheaton in English, Chevalier in French, Carnazza Amari in Italian, and Pinheiro Ferreira in Portuguese. Montesquieu, Rousseau, Bluntschli, Van Eck, Pierantoni, Heffter, Filangieri, Roeder, Cobden, Horace Greeley, Amasa Walker, Macaulay, Emerson, Bredino, Calvo, Lastarria, were common intellectual diet along with Virgil, Horace, Cicero, and Aristotle. World peace, international law, popular education, and the philosophy of history received the attention of this ver-

satire and profound thinker. In history, in the actions and reactions of mankind over the ages, at work as the promotive agencies of progress, were the forces of philosophy and of Providence.²⁶ To all, he said, "La vida es obra". In the more critical essay of Dr. Luis Correa, as an explanation of the failure of Acosta in politics, he quotes, with implied approval, the opinion of Felipe Tejera that Acosta was

a pliable (*ductil*) spirit and candid in extreme, who passed in a moment from certainty to doubt, from affirmation to negation, according to impressions he received from outside.²⁷

Later he adds the verdict of the Colombian Rafael Núñez, that Acosta "is too modest". In the field of international law and relations, in the defense of Hispanic-American rights, and in the estimation of European opinion, Correa places Acosta along with Alberdi, Sarmiento, Lastarria, Hostos, and Bilbao.²⁸

The act which in the opinion of most writers redeemed and immortalized the régime of the Monagas brothers was the emancipation of the slaves in 1854. The promotive causes of this humane act would seem, from a reading of Venezuelan histories, particularly that of Manuel Landaeta Rosales (*La Libertad de los Esclavos en Venezuela*), to have been domestic. Doubtless, the abolition of slavery by Colombia in 1851 and the generally hostile attitude of foreign opinion carried weight. However this may be, the reform was pacifically

²⁶ Acosta, *ibid.*, IV. 25-33. From this essay is taken the following passage, italicized by the author and presented as a command of God to man: "La humanidad es una sola familia: vosotros no lo sabíais, pero yo os lo digo; ¿por qué levantáis manos airadas los unos contra los otros, vosotros los hermanos, vosotros los hijos del amor? Ese odio que os divide no es hijo del Cielo: miradlo; él no está escrito en vuestro corazón. Esa desigualdad que os degrada no es hija de la naturaleza: leed en vuestras almas, y hallaréis en ellas el mismo noble orgullo, la misma elación de conceptos, la misma alteza de origen. Yo he venido á prescribir la enemistad; á maldecir la guerra como un azote, y la esclavitud como un desafuero; á dar á las leyes un origen divino y á la magistratura un carácter de firmeza; á restablecer la igualdad perdida, á aterrar la tiranía entronizada, y á proclamar la libertad de las naciones".

²⁷ Luis Correa, *Las Ideas Políticas de Cecilio Acosta* (Caracas, Lit. y Tip. Vargas, 1926), p. 10.

²⁸ Correa, *ibid.*, p. 15.

enacted with compensation to former owners—to the credit of President Juan G. Monagas, the minister Simón Planas, the humanitarian Larrazzábal, and the jurist Julián Viso.

Notable as an event in this epoch was the constitutional convention of 1858. The charter it formulated was with characteristic Venezuelan contradiction a liberal instrument drawn by so-called conservatives. In the quality of its personnel, in the dignity of its deliberations, and in its contributions to governmental science, the Valencia convention was perhaps the most worthy assemblage of its kind in Venezuelan history. The old discussion about federalism and centralism was rejoined in and out of the convention, with many allusions to Swiss and United States principles and forms. But with this difference: no voice was raised in support of the pure unitary type; the proposed forms were either federal or centro-federal.²⁹

Extremists, like Rendón and Francisco Mejía, identified federalism, pure and unmodified, with religion and liberty—all else was slavery and sin. Dr. Elías Acosta had a different idea—that the federal institutions of the United States could not be imported unchanged and set up in Venezuela; that good government requires a proper balance and adjustment of the interests and powers of the locality and the generality. There is need of an adequate central government; and, likewise, a need of autonomous local government for interests that are local. This last need of his country would best be met by a system of municipal home rule. He had championed this plan in 1850 when he had translated the French work of Henrion de Pansey. He had also read Tocqueville and was much impressed with the latter's contention that the autonomy of municipalities was one of three reasons why the United States had been able to maintain democracy. The translation and the accompanying comments and notes were an argument that Venezuela should re-adopt and re-adapt the ancient Spanish and colonial *cabildo*, as an instrument of democracy and

²⁹ Gil Fortoul, *Historia constitucional* (1st ed.), II. 354 *et seq.*

as a solution of the problem of the territorial distribution of governmental power.³⁰ It has always seemed to the writer that it was unfortunate that Venezuela did not give greater consideration to Dr. Acosta's ideas.

In the end the decentralization tendency triumphed, although the designation "federal" was not given to the constitution. The local autonomy granted was ample. In addition, manhood suffrage, universal and secret, and liberal guarantees of individual rights were granted, along with many other advanced principles. The question was: did this beautiful constitution which had with devoted labor been put on paper correspond with the real constitution of the country? The three most eminent members of the convention—Espinal, Pedro Gual, and Fermín Toro—were frankly skeptical.³¹ With peace, it might have had a chance; with five years of civil war (1859-1864), which was to be the lot of Venezuela, it was discarded by its own framers.

We are not in this paper concerned with the long civil war, other than to inquire as to any advancement in the theory of federation.³²

Were the liberals genuinely concerned about this issue? A. L. Guzmán advanced an explanation of his party's attitude, which on first reading seems both cynical and trivial,

³⁰ Elías Acosta (trans.), *El Poder municipal* por M. Henrion de Pansey (Caracas, Imp. de F. A. Alvarez, 1850). This is a translation of the fourth edition of Pansey's work. E. V. Foucart's important introduction is reproduced. Acosta reprinted in the appendix the most important Venezuelan laws on municipalities. Aside from Pansey and Tocqueville, he used Marina, Maccarel, Escriche, Galiano, Vivero.

³¹ Gil Fortoul, *Historia constitucional*, II. 356-357, 360-361.

³² For information on the federal war see Lisandro Alvarado, *Historia de la Revolución federal en Venezuela* (Caracas, Lit. y Tip. del Comercio, 1909); L. J. Alfonso, *Breve Análisis del Pasado de Venezuela* (Caracas, Imp. Nacional, 1872); J. R. Pachano, *Biografía del Mariscal Juan C. Falcón* (Paris, Denne Schmitz, 1876); J. M. de Rojas, *Bosquejo histórico de Venezuela* (Paris, Garnier, 1888); José Santiago Rodríguez, *Contribución al Estudio de la Guerra federal en Venezuela*; L. Villanueva, *Vida del valiente Ciudadano General Ezequiel Zamora* (Caracas, Imp. Federación, 1898); A. Guzmán Blanco, *En Defensa de la Causa liberal* (2d ed., Paris, Lahure, 1894).

yet which may well be the truth. In 1867, before the congress, he said,

I do not know whence is derived the idea that the people of Venezuela have a love for federation, when they do not know what this word signifies. This idea came from me and from others when we said to ourselves: Supposing that every revolution needs a watchword, and given that the convention of Valencia did not choose to baptize the constitution with the name "federal", let us invoke that idea, because, señores, if our opponents had said "federation", we would have said "Centralism".

Dr. Arcaya accepts this explanation as the truth.³³ Alvarado also agreed when he wrote that the liberal platform calling for democracy and federation was a matter of form.³⁴ Vallenilla Lanz thought that the federal war was a repercussion of the same sort of civil war that occurred in the struggle for independence.³⁵ Dr. Gil Fortoul has written:

The truth is that the military *caudillo*, Falcón, and the civil propagandist, Guzmán, on disguising with any name whatever their personal ambitions, did not comprehend in 1858 and 1859 the enormous influence which this single word *federación*, was going to exert on the destinies of the Venezuelan people. The term federation in the mind of the uncultured masses was transformed until it lost its signification (purely political) of local autonomy to be converted into a watchword for every class of democratic reform, and into a tendency toward a definitive equalization of all the social classes.³⁶

We are confronted in this matter by the anomaly that the genuine advocates of institutional decentralization in Venezuela were the conservatives, and the fact that the exigencies of politics gave the liberals the opportunity and inducement of seizing upon federalism as an issue. So committed, this party was compelled to embody the formal principle of the federal order in the constitution of 1864, although the party

³³ Arcaya, *Estudios sobre Personajes y Hechos*, p. 171.

³⁴ Alvarado, *op. cit.*, p. 536.

³⁵ This thesis was first advanced in the article "La Evolución federalista", published in *El Cojo Ilustrado*, 1909.

³⁶ Gil Fortoul, *Historia constitucional*, II, 399.

under Falcón and Guzmán Blanco was to violate in spirit and in fact this principle in many ways from the very beginning.

In 1870, the age of Guzmán Blanco began, and with intervals of foreign residence on the part of the president-dictator-diplomat, lasted until 1889. This famous man, better informed than Páez, more versatile than Monagas, more energetic than Falcón, was an enlightened autocrat, although hardly a benevolent one. Willing to collaborate with his opponents if they would submit to his iron will, he was ready to fight, and did so, against intermittent revolts. Paying lip-service to federalism, and permitting study of that institutional order, he centralized power and carried the interference of national authority in local affairs to an extent unknown before. Permitting no adverse criticism of his person or policies, he encouraged and received extravagant adulation. A practical student of the history of the vicissitudes of dictatorial power, he enriched himself and family from public funds. It would be absurd to think of his government as either liberal or conservative; it was personalist, and his object was to build up a Guzmán Blanco party.³⁷

In spite of the faulty policies, the efficient tyranny, and the corruption, there was a renewed intellectual activity, a new exposure to European culture. Improvement in the central university, the organization of academies, the development of a common school system, the suppression of the remaining

³⁷ For contemporaneous estimates of Guzmán Blanco, see his own *Defensa de la Causa liberal*; Francisco González Guinán, *Historia contemporánea de Venezuela*, 15 vols. (Caracas, 1909-1925); *Historia del Gobierno de la Aclamación . . . Guzmán Blanco* (Caracas, 1899); "Hortensio" (José Guëll y Mercader), *Guzmán Blanco y su Tiempo* (Caracas, Imp. Opinión Nacional, 1883); *Glorias del ilustre Americano, Rejenerador i Pacificador de Venezuela Jeneral Guzmán Blanco* (Caracas, Imp. de "El Demócrata", 1875); (these works are favorable). For unfavorable opinions see: L. Level de Goda, *Historia contemporánea de Venezuela, política y militar (1858-1886)*; Félix E. Bigotte, *El Libro de Oro* (Caracas, 1869); Manuel Briceño, *Los Ilustres: Páginas para la Historia de Venezuela* (no place, no pub., no date); Domingo A. Olavarría *Estudio histórico-político* (2d ed., Valencia, Tip. Mijares, 1895); R. F. Seijas, *El Presidente* (Madrid, Imp. and Lit. de F. Terceño, 1891).

units of the regular clergy, the humiliation of the secular Church, the institution of civil registry, the completion of many internal improvements, and the reform of the monetary system, were accompanied by the triumph of French culture and by some studies of the Swiss constitution and the institutions of the United States. As Ricardo Urbaneja has pointed out, the French influence, supported by the steady pressure of government backing, made a conquest of the Venezuelan mind in education, literature, art, manners, and political theory.³⁸ Travel in France increased. The education of Venezuelan students there became popular. Periodicals and newspapers frankly urged imitation.

On October 15, 1880, Guzmán Blanco proposed to the congress that the constitution be reformed. A draft of a constitution having been drawn, the states were informed, and they in turn, in accordance with the president's wishes, obsequiously petitioned congress to adopt a new instrument of government. Agreeable to this request, the congress acted, and the Swiss constitution or that of 1881 was adopted. This gave the appearance of a further adoption of federalist principles, together with a reduction of the powers of the executive; actually, centralization was increased, if that was possible, with a disguised, although more fully developed, autocracy.³⁹ The new Venezuelan charter was not a reproduction of the Swiss constitution, having many important differences in form and principle. The change had few immediate effects and no really permanent influence, although it led to some study of Swiss institutions and caused or contributed to cause an important issue between those who favored a small number of large states and a relatively large number of small ones. The constitution reduced the number of states from twenty to eight (later nine), with the new units called "great entities". The issue mentioned continued in debate until 1909. With

³⁸ Ricardo Urbaneja, "La Influencia Francesa en Venezuela", in *Prosas Efímeras* (Caracas, Lit. y. Tip. del Comercio, 1916).

³⁹ *Recopilación de Leyes y Decretos de Venezuela* (Caracas, Imp. de "Opinión Nacional", 1884), IX, 217.

apparent imitation of the Swiss system, the constitution called for a federal council, in which was vested the "poder general de la Federación". This body was to be composed of one senator and one deputy from each "entity" and one deputy from the federal district. It was to elect from among its members the president, who was to serve for two years, without being eligible immediately to succeed himself.⁴⁰

During the Guzmán Blanco period, as well as during the last half century of Venezuelan history, the places of Constant and Larrazábal as teachers of constitutional law and political science were taken by Florentino González, a Colombian and one time professor in the University of Buenos Aires. The first edition of his treatise was designed as a university textbook and as an exposition of the principles of republican government, according primarily to the practice of the United States. Later editions brought enlargement and inclusion of comparative constitutional law.⁴¹ This work, *Lecciones de Derecho constitucional*, is still the standard textbook on the subject in Venezuela. The content shows admirable restriction to fact and experience; and argument and interpretation are presented avowedly as logical deductions from such sources. The work very happily insists upon a harmony of the political with the social system. González was a partisan of the United States and an advocate of the idea that a state and a people should investigate foreign governments and adopt for itself the best form and principles which such study might suggest. After acknowledgment that the social customs of the American peoples were different, he frankly proposed the change of the Hispanic-American customs to make suitable the transplantation of North American institutions, with-

⁴⁰ For a comment on this constitution, see Gil Fortoul, *Filosofía constitucional* (Paris, Garnier, 1890), pp. 119-125.

⁴¹ The oldest copy I was able to acquire (the third edition), was published in 1879. I was given to believe that my copy, a second-hand one, had been used as a text in the University of Caracas as late as 1927. Much use was made at this time of Justo Arosemena's *Estudios constitucionales sobre los Gobiernos de la América Latina* (2 vols., 2nd ed., Paris, Lib. Española i Americana, 1878).

out which the use of the governmental mechanism would be fruitless. Not contenting himself here in his campaign of education, he enthusiastically translated the *Nature and Tendency of free Institutions* of Frederick Grimke (second edition, 1887) and the *Civil Liberty and Self Government* of Francis Lieber (1889).⁴² González had studied these authors for many years, the introduction to the Grimke bearing the date of 1869, and that to the Lieber, 1871. His own work on constitutional law shows an acquaintance with Laveleye, Portalis, Bonghi, Schérer, Andrieux, Laboulaye, Story, Blackstone, Lastarria, among others; but his most important sources, as indicated by footnote references and textual usage, were Lastarria, John Stuart Mill, Lieber, and Grimke. The last was his favorite, being cited twenty-three times and referred to in the context many other times. He paid high tribute to Grimke's book, writing in his introduction to the translation that the latter

had developed with master hand the theory of American institutions, demonstrating his aptitude for promoting the progress and happiness of the political community better than any others whomsoever.

He deplored the fact that Mill and Laboulaye had not seen and employed Grimke's work, since they had reached conclusions which had been anticipated by him. González popularized Grimke in Venezuela, and I was told in 1928 that the *Naturaleza y tendencia* was still read and continued to be of influence.⁴³

⁴² F. González, (trans.), *Naturaleza y tendencia de las Instituciones libres por Federico Grimke* (2 vols., 2d ed., Paris and Mexico, Lib. de Ch. Bouret, 1887); (trans.), *La Libertad civil y el Gobierno propio por el Doctor Francisco Lieber*, 2 vols. (Paris and Mexico, Lib. de Ch. Bouret, 1889).

⁴³ I found copies of the Grimke in many bookshops and private libraries; and historians and lawyers gave me testimony as to their thought of the importance of the book. Many estimated it as more significant than the classic work of Mill on *Representative Government*. It is curious that a book that is all but forgotten in this country should experience a new life there, but such is the fact, despite the availability of Burgess and other works of high reputation. It may be of interest to record, as another example of survival—although, to be sure,

González in his introduction to the translation of Lieber entered into his full thesis as to the transplantation and projection of institutions, saying in part:

The most prejudicial error, which men of the nations of the Spanish race who have had the duty of founding political institutions capable of assuring liberties and rights of individuals and of the social body to which they belong—the whole of which is apt to give to the government the real and true republican character—can have incurred, is that of believing that those institutions and that government must and can be molded to Latin traditions, formed by the customs of the peoples, over which in turn the Roman legislation, codified by Justinian and the papal power, has exercised influence.

Adopting as a principle without exception that political institutions should be conformable to the customs of the people among whom they are established; and, the traditions and customs formed under Latin influence, being the negation of all that can serve as a base of free institutions: it is clear that statesman trying to conform free institutions with Latin theories and traditions would be undertaking a task of impossible practical result for obtaining the end proposed. The elm tree does not bear pearls, and Latin theories and traditions can not be the mother of free institutions, nor the base on which can repose a republican organization.

González thought that in Lieber's study of the contrasting systems of "Gallican" and "Anglican" liberty and of the institutions dependent thereupon, Spanish and Spanish-Americans will find a safer guide to lead them in the task of political organization "than among all the publicists of continental Europe".

Another curious development of this era, in this case due to a very different cause, was the translation under the title of *Derecho federal*, of a portion of the works of the North American statesman, John C. Calhoun. The translator was the pugnacious and erratic historian, orator, and poet, the Cuban, Juan Ignacio de Armas. The translation was first issued serially in the *Gaceta Oficial*. This plan was abandoned because the character and quality of the work is very different—the moralistic writings of Samuel Smiles, which have been described as "obras trascendentales".

doned, and the work was published in book form, in 1879, there being four volumes.⁴⁴ This project was ostensibly a unit in a series or collection of the translated works of statesmen and publicists of the United States on what was called "federal law" or theory. If such was the project, only this item of it was carried to the point of publication—and it was not completed. The first volume contains Calhoun's "Disquisition on Government" and his "Discourse on the constitution and government of the United States"; the last three have his speeches that were delivered in the house of representatives and the senate. The last speech reproduced in the last volume is the reply to Webster on the sub-treasury plan, March 22, 1838. Armas translated, therefore, about three volumes out of six of the Crallé edition of the *Works of John C. Calhoun*. In spite of assiduous search, the writer was able to find little in the way of data that would give the story of this venture or give information as to any influence Calhoun has had upon Venezuelan thought. Scholars interested in institutional history were non-committal. Many of them had the work in their libraries, but few testified to having read it. Aside from a few references in the *Mosaico de Política y Literatura* (1890) of Luis López Méndez—who, it should be said, showed a preference for Grimké—and isolated notices here and there in other writers, I did not encounter any use of the Armas translation. Whether or not Guzmán Blanco merely wanted to give his friend Armas a profitable job of translating—such gifts being not unknown in his rule—and at the same time was making a gesture at educating his people and subjects in the principles of federalism, I am not at the present able to say.

In 1888, near the termination of the Guzmán Blanco period of dominance, two important translations of foreign works

* The title page is inscribed: *Derecho federal. Colección de Escritos de los mas afamados Publicistas de los Estados Unidos del Norte. Dispuesta y publicada por el ilustre Americano, General Guzmán Blanco, 4 vols. (Caracas, Imp. de la "Gaceta Oficial", 1879). The second page reads, "Escritos de John C. Calhoun".*

appeared. One, the *Principios generales de Derecho, de Política, y de Legislación* of Pradier Fodéré, was made by Dr. Francisco E. Caballero of the faculty of the University of Caracas. The other, the *Principios de Política* of F. von Holtzendorff, was made by Adolfo Buylla and Adolfo Posada, both of the Spanish University of Oviedo. These systematic treatises of the French and German political scientists, through these versions, have enjoyed in Venezuela a sustained popularity. The first—an achievement of native scholarship—was not accompanied by any comment or statement of the purposes of the translator.

In 1890, another important advocate of the North American idea and system of government appeared in the person of Dr. Jesús Muñoz Tébar, scientist, sociologist, and historian, who in this connection in that year wrote his compact little volume, *El Personalismo i Legalismo: Estudio Político*. In this book he discounted the factors of race and heredity in a nation's life, holding that "the character of men depends on the education they receive", that by education national customs and civilization could be changed, from which postulates he proceeded to assign as the chief difference between Anglo-Saxon and Hispanic America that of legalism on the one side and personalism on the other. By this differentiation, he meant not only the obvious implications of a government of laws as against one of men, but those of a system of government in which law is supreme and respected as against the arbitrary rule of dictatorship. The solution was civic education and a change of social customs consequent thereto. His acknowledged recommendation was that the way of progress for Hispanic America was for it to become like the United States!

About the same time (1891), the distinguished Venezuelan writer on international law, the problems of diplomacy, and projects of Hispanic-American confederation, R. F. Seijas, diverted his energies to allow himself a time and opportunity of free speech on the subject of presidential power and prac-

tice in his country. From this fortunate diversion of activity came the precious little volume, entitled *El Presidente*, which is a reasoned but impersonal indictment of Guzmán Blanco and of dictatorship.⁴⁵ Of this book Andara wrote

in brief but perdurable pages he condensed and condemned the functioning of power under those grasping dictators, for whom there has existed neither the republic nor the federation, neither the parliament nor anything except the personal caprice of the despot.⁴⁶

Instead of seeking correct principles from the world outside and recommending them for adoption, he proposed to expose the truth about dictatorship in a factual study of domestic politics. The old and also the recent order must be uprooted, difficult as that accomplishment would be. He believed that his fellow citizens wanted a certain program followed—namely, a general reaction, sane and in good faith, in favor of legality, of respect for the duties and rights of all, of honest administration of the public revenues, of good government, of independence of the municipalities, of the autonomy of the states and of the real and positive practice of the constitution. In the second part, and in support of his contention that only the government founded on sound morals and justice can produce public happiness, he brought the support of many foreign writers, such as Montesquieu—whose ideas he followed step by step (p. 117)—Voltaire, Lecky, Machiavelli, Grotius, Franklin, and Washington. Although certain of his facts and conclusions, he was pessimistic as to the past and future of government.

Over against the thought and philosophy of such men as González, Muñoz Tébar, Seijas, and López Méndez, and in opposition to it, stands an important group of present-day writers, inclusive of some of the most intelligent men of the country. Apart from this group is to be found the erudite francophile, Dr. José Gil Fortoul, deeply imbued with the

⁴⁵ R. F. Seijas, *El Presidente* (Madrid, Imp. y. Lit. Terceño, 1891).

⁴⁶ J. L. Andara, *La Evolución social y política de Venezuela* (Curacao, Imp. de Bethencourt, 1904), p. 47.

best of rationalism and relatively free from commitment to any system of interpretation—perhaps the foremost historian and student of constitutional law of Venezuela. The foregoing statement applies to his historical and expository works, but not with equal pertinence to his philosophical and systematic writings, such as the *Filosofía constitucional* (1890) and *El hombre y la historia* (1896). In the former, material is taken from such foreign authors as Littré, Bourdeau, Darwin, Lyell, Donnat, Mougeolle, and Guyot. In the latter, the psychological-sociological consideration is perhaps more significant. In this volume Buckle, Spencer, Bagehot, Lubbock, Tarde, Le Bon, Topinard, and Haeckel figure. In both works, Dr. Gil Fortoul presents two types of evolution as affecting society—the one unconscious and the other conscious or intellectual. The two processes may operate at the same time, but in the former the factors of race and environment would have a greater influence than in the latter. He, therefore, dissents from Le Bon.

The group now being considered might be designated the positivist-psychological school, made up of disciples of Hippolyte Adolphe Taine, Gustave Le Bon, and Scipio Sighele. The ideas of the first have made so profound an impression on Venezuelan political and social thought that his followers are sometimes called “tainistas”. Among this number may be placed the unfortunate Angel Rivas, the brilliant and incisive Vallenilla Lanz, and the profound Arcaya. They and their many co-believers supplement these masters—Taine, Le Bon, and Sighele—by appeal to Spencer, Letourneau, Gumplowicz, Lombroso, C. Bougle, Felix le Dantec (*Les Influences ancestrales*), Gobineau, Lecombe, Loria, Proal, Fustel de Coulanges, and Demoullins. Copies of the works of Taine abound in Venezuela, with much of his writing available in Spanish as well as in French. A selected list would not be an accurate indication of his popularity, but the most quoted would, I think, be: *Essais de Critique et d'Histoire* (2nd ed., 1866); *Voyage en Italie* (2 vols., 1866); *De l'Intelligence* (2 vols., 1870); and

Les Origines de France contemporaine (11 vols., 1899-1900).⁴⁷ From a man of Taine's versatility, it would be possible, of course, for a follower to draw a varied and inconsistent inspiration, to construct systems that would in some measure be contradictory; but Venezuelans have found in their great master a coherent and beautifully articulated philosophy and a basis of interpretation of their society. His emphasis on types of people, his belief in history as applied psychology, his desire to apply to history the methods of the natural sciences, his conviction as to the unchangeability of the *volkgeist*, his hunger for abstractions, and his effort to reduce complexity in phenomena to simple formulae have all been accepted.⁴⁸ His thought that all individuals in their actions and beliefs are products of certain primordial forces—*la race, le milieu, le moment*—and that these forces impose on them fashions of thinking and feeling was to have immense weight. That Taine's ideas and writing had a background and allusion to Voltaire, Condillac, and Comte contributed to his popularity.

The most important of the works of the physician and ethnologist, Le Bon, were *L'Homme et les Sociétés, leurs Origines et leur Histoire* (1st ed., 1877; 2nd, 1880, 2 vols.); *La Civilisation des Arabes* (1884); *Les Lois psychologiques de l'Evolution des Peuples* (1894). Le Bon expounded the theory of collective psychology of people. He, as well as Taine, seems to have sponsored the idea that it is impossible to change wholly the psychical organization of society or wholly overcome the forces of racial heredity. Dr. Arcaya, especially the exponent of Le Bon, well demonstrated the difference between the psychological school and Muñoz Tébar in his discourse before the National Academy of History.⁴⁹ The occasion was that of his reception as a member of the

⁴⁷ For Venezuela, the book of C. Schérer, *Taine et la Critique positiviste* (Paris, 1868), is important.

⁴⁸ Cf. Eduard Fueter, *Geschichte der Neuren Historiographie* (München, Oldenbourg, 1925), pp. 586-587.

⁴⁹ Arcaya, *Estudios sobre Personajes y Hechos*, p. 275 ff. The date of the discourse is December 11, 1910.

academy as the successor, it is interesting to note, of Muñoz Tébar. He said in this connection:

He [Muñoz Tébar] repels the conclusions of the school that sees a manifestation of hereditary tendencies in the way of living of every people. He does not accept the theories which teach that it is in the subconscious regions of the soul of each one of the individuals who form a society that are produced the reactions from whose integration results the essence of social activity.

The notion of inheritance does not have, therefore, in the book of Dr. Muñoz Tébar the importance which we, the disciples of Taine and Le Bon, give it. The criterion which inspires him is that the difference of education produces the diversity of the so-called human races, because from that difference proceeds the variety of national customs, to which every individual is molded from birth. . . .

Contrary to this hypothesis of Dr. Muñoz Tébar are the facts which demonstrate the hereditary persistence of certain psychological factors in spite of the fact that education may combat them. The phrase of Le Bon is well known, namely, that in order to give an African the instruction of an educated Englishman some years may suffice, but that a thousand years would hardly be sufficient to assure that in all circumstances of life he would think and act as an Englishman.

I am inclined to the opinion of the French sociologist. It is not that I consider some races radically inferior to others; I believe all of them capable of perfecting themselves in the sense that they can reach a certain degree of civilization, provided that their innate good qualities are utilized in order that these qualities be duly orientated, and if one does not confuse them, endeavoring to lead the people along routes distinct from those they can follow.

After setting forth his conception of the divergences among races, their permanence and their historical significance, he continued:

Thus I explain to myself the inborn diversity of aptitudes of the different human races for certain efforts of the mind and of the will. The question of legalism and personalism is not, in this concept more than a manifestation of the intimate tendencies which have roots in the subconscious profundities of the soul of each people. Let the faculties of action (*efectivas*) predominate over the reflective (*reflex-*

ivas), sentiment over intelligence and the will, if this last may be weak and incapable of constant tension, and the people will be personalist; to the collective will that is lacking or is vacillating, will be substituted necessarily the will of a ruler or *caudillo*, sustained by powerful affections, although on occasions hatreds no less ardent may oppose it. Through this process, in truth, have passed all the races of the globe, and from that point it could be argued that diversity does not exist as I have affirmed; but I hold it as existent, since a long evolution, in determined ways, has fixed in some races certain psychical characters, which in others do not occur, because they remained in the initial state of all humanity, or they evolved in a different way from the others.⁵⁰

It will be carefully noted that neither Le Bon nor Arcaya deny the possibility of change; both hold such possible change will come through evolutionary process rather than in sudden and rapid transformation. The national character would, with this understanding, be the psychological inheritance bequeathed by the uncounted generations of the past. In conformity with the ideas of Taine and Le Bon—and with the collective psychology of Sighele (1868-1913) relating to social acts of violence or crime, which was his specialty—he constructed a philosophical explanation of Venezuelan politics. This explanation involved not only the psychology of the Spanish, but that of the Indian and the Negro. From the nomadic savage of the wild Venezuelan *selvas* and from the far off jungle of Africa, as well as—or rather, more than—from Spain, would come through heredity and with fatalistic inexorableness the political phenomena of his country. In these factors could be found the explanations of the parties, the dictatorships, the *prestigio* of leaders, the civil wars, the twenty constitutions—in fine, the explanation of Venezuelan politics.

Dr. Arcaya, in his essay on Páez, applied these doctrines in an explanation of that *caudillo*. Constructively this is an explanation of all *caudillos* and dictators. Because of its im-

⁵⁰ Arcaya, *ibid.*, pp. 280-281.

portance, its interest, and its courageous frankness, I venture the following long quotation:

Few have had the gift, as did Páez, of enslaving the wills of other men and of leading men docile everywhere—to war, to sacrifice, to rebellion, to the support of a legal order or to the overthrow of it—the strange faculty of suggestion which in Venezuela constitutes the *prestige* of the warrior *caudillos* and explains the plot (*trama*) of our history.

Páez, through his race, a mixture of the white and the Indian, was born of the same parentage as the vast majority of the Venezuelan people. He inherited warlike instincts from both of these factors. From the indigenous element came the instinct of the generality of the Venezuelan soldiers—the subconscious nostalgia for the nomadic life, the desire to wander through the forests in those small parties we call *guerillas*, which are but the recrudescence of the spirit of pre-Columbian hordes.

In Páez the atavistic desire for war, the innate necessity for tumultuous activity of the camps, by virtue of that unknown conjunction of circumstances that makes unequal individuals even within the circle of common hereditary characteristics, developed into such intensity, so strong was the nervous force of his organism, that in the tumult of battle it overflowed in convulsions similar to epileptic attacks. The psychological origins of his temperament made him adopt the habits of the rude shepherd of the plains. The war came and the humble shepherd made himself lord of the *selvas*. A singular process in which we see how the born chief makes himself the effective leader of a large human flock.

In the first clashes, he exposes life audaciously. In his hand the heavy lance accomplishes prodigies of valor and force. In battle, wherein is established the prestige of Páez and the other valorous patriotic leaders, he triumphs. His rivals are converted into subalterns. On occasion it is necessary for him to reaffirm his triumph by personal deeds that declare that the superiority of his strength and courage continues.

In the end he is the chief acknowledged (*indiscutible*), the *caudillo* obeyed and loved. They proclaim him so in 1816. Now he can lead those men to all the *heroicidades*. They are not mere soldiers he commands, in the technical sense of the word. They are his people (*gente*). Let him command it and immediately in his train 150

cavalrymen launch themselves in combat against the entire horse of Morillo. Let him order them, and they will hurl themselves into the river to attack enemy gunboats. Let him lead them to the battle of Carabobo, and they will fall like a thunderbolt on the opposing hosts.

The war stirring in those men the hereditary sediment of their warlike instincts has stirred also their spirit in all the ethnic depth. The loose earth is borne on the torrent, that is to say, the respect for legal formulas, superimposed during the colonial period, and there is left naked the foundation rock, which as Taine says determines the lay of the land. There was revived the psychic necessity of submitting to a chief, of obeying him blindly, as formerly, in the pre-Columbian epoch, they obeyed a *régulo* or cacique. And this chief, this *caudillo*, demanded by the voice of the race, resounding silently in the unthinking regions of the soul, would not be he whom others, working in the name of legality and of the regular military hierarchy wanted to impose on those people, would not be the squill-driving Santander, but Páez, who with his achievements had spoken to their imagination, with his words had gained their affection, and who by his physical strength, in fine, represented for that group the *hombre del palo*, of whom Letourneau tells us, the strongest man of the primitive human horde. No one could govern them but Páez, and he it was who in final analysis had title to *prestige*.

This word is one that indicates a psychological phenomenon peculiar to the Venezuelan people. Here, as we have already said, *prestige* is suggestion, it is the dominion which a man exercises over the will of a determinate group of other men, who follow him wherever he wants to lead them and who constitute his *people* (*gente*). It is affection and respect. Undoubtedly this suggestion is powerful, and in order for such a phenomenon to be produced there must be found in the masses of inhabitants special circumstances of race and education.

These circumstances exist in Venezuela, on whose people gravitate with an enormous weight the psychic inheritance from the barbarous tribes from which we descend. In the ladder of our evolution, a few rungs back, that is to say a few centuries back, we find the Indian of our forests and the Negro of the African plains. The one and the other lived under the régime of absolute chiefs and their caciques or kings they venerated at times as gods.

In the subconscious depth of the popular soul, as an hereditary stratum of that multi-secular, psychical process of the submission of

men to a man, has remained the susceptibility to suggestion, the easy subjection, voluntary in appearance, determined in reality by remote causes as explained, to the love of a chief. When there are several *caudillos* who aspire to impose themselves on the soul of the multitudes, it is understood that some will follow a definite chief and others will go away with a rival of that leader, but it is to be noticed that at bottom the same unthinking tendency works in all. . . .

From France and the United States came to us the dogmas of the republic, democracy, equality, liberty, and all the rest of the analogous concepts, which have not succeeded in penetrating the popular mind, that is to say, have not been able to alter the psychical foundation, the basis of human actions; but which, ruling, although superficially, in the spirit of educated people and translated into written laws, have constituted a set of ideas and persons hostile to the development of the plant that tends to grow spontaneously in Venezuela—military feudalism, similar to that of medieval Europe and to that of Japan up to recent times. . . .

It is certain that there was also at that time a great number of legalistic spirits who retained the traditions of order and regularity of the colonial period and who inspired, moreover, by the philosophical ideas of the time had faith in the possibility of establishing in Venezuela an ordered, democratic and republican régime. That faith made them capable of doing great things for the success of their ideals. In our days scientific criticism, explaining to us the origin of man and of societies, their slow evolution, the fixity of the characters, both physical and psychological of races, if it brings to the mind sufficient light to render possible the discovery of the secret of sociological processes, it leaves in the soul the disconsolation that one is in each case in the presence of a fact determined by remote causes. With the conviction of this truth, one cannot be encouraged to struggle with unimpressible nature.⁵¹

Vallenilla Lanz is also a disciple of this positivist-psychological school and has applied its doctrines in his interpretation of Venezuelan history. He has done so, however, with modifications and reservations. He has given special emphasis to the social, racial, and political inheritances, and to the enmities derived from colonial experience and the an-

⁵¹ Arcaya, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-42.

archy and civil wars of the conflict for independence. The results of the interplay of these and a multiplicity of other factors have been the parties and dictatorship. His general conclusion is that dictatorship is only real constitution and that potentially, under dictatorship, there may be a régime which he calls "democratic Caesarism". In the famous book of that title, he accepted the psychology of Le Bon, as the following passage shows:

Psychology recognizes in individuals as in peoples the impossibility of these sharp and total modifications.

In the historical evolution of Venezuela there is observed clearly as each disturbance broke out the same brutal instincts, the same hatreds, the same passions, the same impulses as assassination and pillage, and as they continued surging from the midst of our popular masses the same hordes of Boves and Yánes, disposed to repeat in the name of republican principles the same crimes committed in that of Ferdinand VII., equally ignorant of what the colonial government or self-government signified. And it is because, in spite of all our ideological and political transformations, the real soul of our people continued for long years to be the same as during the colony. The passions, the instincts, the hereditary prejudices, the subconscious motives, continued to be in that soul elements of destruction and ruin, contained only by the coercive means which the chief of state exercised so amply, without any subjection to the formal guarantees written in the constitutions.⁵²

As the years passed, this brilliant writer and journalist has been inclined to recede from the extreme positions of Taine and Le Bon. To considerations of the heterogeneous composition of the Venezuelan population and the diversity of the climate and topography was to be added the fact that the opinions of subsequent writers, such as Tarde, Bougle, Lecombe, and Novicow had tended to modify the teachings of

⁵² Vallenilla Lanz, *op. cit.*, 173-174. "Gustave Le Bon—(Lois psychologiques de l'Evolution des Peuples (p. 66)—'Lorsqu'on étudie de près tous ces prétendus changements, on s'aperçoit bientôt que les noms seuls des choses varient, tandis que les réalités qui se cachent derrière les mots continuent à vivre et ne se transforment qu'avec une extrême lenteur.' "

the earlier masters. The change of viewpoint is acknowledged in the following passage:

The theory of *race* taken in the amplitude which its partisans have endeavored to give it has led naturally to conclusions completely erroneous and whose refutation falls within the limits of a reasoning that is very simple.

It is said that each race or each people has psychological characteristics as invariable as the physical characteristics. I confess that I myself have for a long time been much taken with this theory and that I have a long study, based on it, which fortunately has not been published. A complete error of enormous influence which certain superior minds propagate. To believe with Gustave Le Bon that, while the Negroes preserve the color of their skin, the salient jaw, and all the other features that differentiate them from the whites, they will never be able to adopt the ideas which are considered the patrimony of the latter. This mental impermeability, affirms the wise sociologist, will be an eternal cause of antagonism between the two races, which will lead them to exterminate themselves without mercy or respite! Enchanting prospect!—exclaims the Russian Novicow—But happily for humanity there are a multitude of facts which demonstrate in a way most conclusive that no necessary and fatal relations exist between certain ideas and certain anthropological types. The whites have had in the centuries past ideas which differed very little from those attributed to the Negroes. . . . Among movable things, nothing is more movable than human thought.⁵³

IV

In the course of the century which has recently come to an end, many foreign individuals and states have contributed to the composite of Venezuelan cultural and political thought. Of the foreign states, France and the United States, according to our analysis, have exercised the most constant influence, and of the two, that of France has been the more varied and effective. The influence of each has varied according to the dominant interests of time and circumstance. That of the

⁵³ L. Vallenilla Lanz, *Críticas de Sinceridad y Exactitud* (Caracas, Imp. Boívar, 1921), pp. 284-285. Cf. his *El Sentido Americano de la Democracia* (Caracas, Tip. Universal, 1926).

United States has related in the main to the institutions of the federal order and to republican practices. In both sets of particulars, that influence has probably diminished. Venezuela has developed its own variant of the federal system.⁵⁴ With the adoption of the so-called Swiss constitution of 1881, the plan of a small number of large states was adopted. This system was retained until 1901 when that of twenty states sanctioned by the constitution of 1864 was reestablished. In 1904, the number of states was reduced to thirteen, but in 1909, that of twenty was restored, to continue to this day. The form of government, the content of constitutions, the public administration, and the scheme of federal organization, have in the most part ceased to have even a formal resemblance to the North American counterparts.

Present tendencies in this respect, as in that relating to the intellectual leadership of France, would seem to indicate a drift toward independence and toward a resolution of social and cultural problems according to the suggestion and implication of their own situation—which is creditable to a people of such fecundity of mind.

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⁵⁴ Luis Sagarzazu, in his doctoral dissertation, *La Constitución de 1901 y la Reforma* (Caracas, Tip. Gutenberg, 1904), writes (p. 13) of Article 6, that is, of the autonomy of the states: "All of us Venezuelans know too well that this autonomy has never been practiced, but is a myth written in all the constitutions".

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF BRITISH COMMERCE WITH ARGENTINA

The primacy of British commercial interests in the Río de la Plata began as soon as Spain's monopoly was broken, at first by contraband trade, later by the independence of the colonies. In early times the region developed slowly, because of the Spanish preference for mining,¹ and the restriction of commerce to goods brought from Spain by the costly route of Panama, Callao, the passes of the Andes and the pampas. From its foundation, the Portuguese settlement of Colonia do Sacramento naturally became a center for smuggling cheaper manufactures direct from Europe across the river to restricted Buenos Aires,² in defiance of many Spanish attacks³ and the watchfulness of the Spanish outpost, Montevideo,⁴ nearer the sea. In this illicit trade the English shared, especially in times of war.⁵

The British became seriously interested in Buenos Aires after the Peace of Utrecht. They had already visited South America during the war, with ships' papers forged by one Don Fernando Guzmán in London.⁶ By the peace they gained a two-fold advantage: Colonia was restored to their friends the Portuguese, and the English were granted a legitimate position in the Spanish colonies by the Asiento.⁷ They were

¹ S. H. Wilcocke, *History . . . of the Viceroyalty of Buenos Aires . . .* (London, 1807), p. 503.

² B. Mitre, *Historia de Belgrano y de la Independencia Argentina* (6th ed., Buenos Aires, 1913), I. 37.

³ R. Levene, ed., *Documentos para la Historia Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1915), V. xxvii (cited hereafter as *Documentos*). For the repeated capture and return of Colonia, see D. Antokoletz, *Histoire de la Diplomatie Argentine* (Paris, 1914), I. 54-60.

⁴ S. Arcos, *La Plata. Étude historique* (Paris, 1865), p. 144.

⁵ Public Record Office, London, C.O. 388/53 (Lisbon merchants to Pitt, June 6, 1760).

⁶ *Documentos*, V. p. 3.

⁷ *British and Foreign State Papers*, I. 611-627.

permitted to send a limited number of slaves to Buenos Aires, where not over six Englishmen might live to supervise the sale. Royal decrees ceding rights to build houses, till the soil, etc., for the maintenance of the slaves until sold, gave them a foothold.⁸ When later they were permitted to import goods to clothe the slaves, they used the privilege as a pretext for shipping further supplies for sale.⁹ In such fraudulent practices they were helped by the venality of the local officials¹⁰ and the connivance of the civil inhabitants, many of whom entered secret but loyal partnership with them. The British traders even learned something of the interior, for in August, 1725, the South Sea Company was given the right to take inland a few unsold slaves.¹¹ English goods penetrated far into the country, being carried by Spaniards in small wagons into Paraguay,¹² and later in large covered ones as far as Chile.¹³

Friction over British encroachments led Spain into war with Great Britain and, when that proved unsuccessful, to a more liberal commercial policy in hopes of undermining the English by fostering Spanish competition with them.¹⁴ Permission to send specially licensed "register-ships" anywhere at any time (in contrast to the fixed sailings of the old *flota* and galleons) rapidly encouraged legitimate trade at Buenos Aires, which was stimulated further by the establishment in 1767 of a service of packet-boats from Coruña,¹⁵ with Spanish produce as half their cargoes.¹⁶ The change was timely, for, as Bougainville recorded in 1766, commerce had greatly declined at Buenos Aires after carrying European goods

⁸ *Documentos*, V. 11-13.

⁹ D. de Alcedo y Herrera (ed. by J. Zaragoza), *Piraterías y Agresiones de los Ingleses* (Madrid, 1883), p. 208.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

¹¹ *Documentos*, V. 97.

¹² [J. Campbell], *The Spanish Empire in America* By an English Merchant. (Ed., London, 1747), p. 275.

¹³ *An Account of the Spanish Settlements in America* (Edinburgh, 1762), p. 285. T. Falkner, *A Description of Patagonia* (London, 1774), p. 2.

¹⁴ *Documentos*, V. xxvii.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

¹⁶ Wilcocke, *op. cit.*, pp. 515, 519; *Documentos*, V. xxxiv, 204-205.

overland to Chile and Peru had been stopped and Colonia had been cut off by Spanish fortifications.¹⁷ After Colonia was ceded to Spain by the peace of San Ildefonso in 1777, trade was permitted with any Spanish possessions.¹⁸ Undoubtedly the English were injured by the invigorated Spanish competition, but as late as 1774 Brazil was still a busy center of smuggling into nearby Spanish territory, many ships sailing there from London, Deal, Liverpool, and Bristol, laden with British manufactures.¹⁹

Decrees for the establishment of a viceroyalty at Buenos Aires in 1776 and for a new commercial code in 1778²⁰ were expected to bring added vitality to Spanish commerce and to lessen the incentive to contraband. But, while duties were lowered, preference was still given to Spanish goods (about 19 per cent *vs.* 43 per cent)²¹ and to Spanish ships, licenses were still required to enter the colonies, and detailed though simplified regulations continued.²² Real effects of the change were difficult to gauge because of the wars, which interfered, but Buenos Aires continued to grow (according to one estimate, from 38,000 inhabitants in 1778 to 72,000 in 1800);²³ helped by added concessions to neutral commerce in wartime,²⁴ freer exportation of hides after 1789,²⁵ and rapidly increasing intercourse with the interior. On the other hand, in 1781, English goods were barred from Buenos Aires²⁶ even if

¹⁷ L. de Bougainville, *Voyage autour du Monde* (Paris, 1771), pp. 40-41.

¹⁸ Sir Woodbine Parish, *Buenos Ayres* (London, 1839), p. 22; M. A. Pelliza, *Historia Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1888-1889), I. 251-252; R. Antunez y Acevedo, *Memorias históricas sobre la Legislación, y Gobierno del Comercio de los Españoles con sus Colonias* (Madrid, 1797), p. 37.

¹⁹ *Documentos*, V. 364-366.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, VI. 3-132.

²¹ F. R. J. Depons, *Travels in South America* (London, 1807), II. 24.

²² Pelliza, *op. cit.*, I. 239-241.

²³ R. G. Watson, *Spanish and Portuguese South America* (London, 1884), II. 214.

²⁴ R. Levene, *Los Orígenes de la Democracia Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1911), pp. 157-158, 302-303.

²⁵ Arcos, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

²⁶ A royal decree of June 24, 1779, forbade admission of British goods or any goods that had touched at any British port (*Documentos*, VI. 157).

they had been imported first into Spain in time of peace,²⁷ and in 1784, very severe restrictions were placed on the entry of foreign vessels under pretense of distress.²⁸ Yet England, by command of the seas, finally almost severed communication between Spain and its colonies,²⁹ until shortage of supplies caused many in Buenos Aires to listen to the pleas for freedom of commerce of Mariano Moreno and Manuel Belgrano, who paved the way for independence.³⁰

In 1803, an English naval officer, Sir Home Popham, revived an old idea,³¹ namely, that England should attack Buenos Aires to break the Spanish monopoly.³² When he carried out the plan in 1806, he had an economic as well as a political purpose. In October, 1804, he had written to Pitt of the great advantages to England if the latter were to help the Spanish colonies gain their independence, "the riches that it would bring in, the new sources that it would open for our manufactures and navigation".³³ Already English merchants were active there. In 1804, Mark Riley of London succeeded in selling British manufactures in Buenos Aires,³⁴ although John Mawe, a year later, was arrested in a similar attempt, and lost his property and his liberty.³⁵

The unauthorized capture of Buenos Aires by Popham and General Beresford in May, 1806,³⁶ removed the risks of such illegal trading. In July, Popham wrote enthusiastic let-

²⁷ R. Levene, *Investigaciones acerca de la Historia económica del Virreinato del Plata* (La Plata, 1927-1928), I. 307; *Documentos*, VI. 197.

²⁸ *Documentos*, VI. 269.

²⁹ Depons, *op. cit.*, II. 49.

³⁰ J. M. Estrada, *Lecciones sobre la Historia de la República Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1898), I. 230-231; Levene, *Los Orígenes*, pp. 165-166.

³¹ Mitre, *op. cit.*, I. p. 98; Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 278; V. F. López, *Historia de la República Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1883-1893), I. 460.

³² W. S. Robertson, *The Life of Miranda* (Chapel Hill, 1929), I. 257-258.

³³ "Miranda and the British Admiralty, 1804-1806", in *American Historical Review* (April, 1901), VI. 513.

³⁴ Public Record Office, London, B.T. 5/15, p. 235.

³⁵ J. Mawe, *Travels in the Interior of Brazil* (London, 1812), p. 9.

³⁶ C.O. 324/68, pp. 1-7. The military history is given at some length in M. Lobo, *Historia general de las antiguas Colonias Hispano-Americanas* (Madrid, 1875).

ters to the officials of the manufacturing and commercial centers of England, pointing out the new opportunities, not only in Buenos Aires and Montevideo but also in the whole viceroyalty.³⁷ To encourage commerce, Beresford abolished all prohibitions and reduced duties, previously 34½ per cent on English products, to 12½ per cent for British subjects and 17½ per cent for others.³⁸ There was eager response in England. On September 17, 1806, by order in council, Buenos Aires was declared British and open to trade in British or Argentine ships.³⁹ According to *The Times*,

Such unexampled generosity and moderation will doubtless make the inhabitants of the Spanish colonies wish to be connected with Great Britain. By such an union we should have a never-failing market for our commodities, and our enemies would be forever deprived of the power of adding the resources of these rich provinces to their other means of annoying us.⁴⁰

The merchants of Great Britain, perplexed to find outlets for the goods choking their warehouses because of the war on the continent, welcomed the new opening. By October, one hundred ships were being fitted out for South America.⁴¹ Government aided by permitting delays of six weeks to a year in the payment of duties, in order to circumvent the exorbitant premium of 10 per cent charged for advancing them by local Spanish houses,⁴² and by setting aside the monopoly of the South Sea Company.⁴³

Visionaries now recommended a permanent colony on both banks of the Plata and the Paraná rivers as far as Santa Fé,

³⁷ Holt & Gregson MSS., Liverpool Public Library, XIII. 15; *The Times*, September 20, 1806.

³⁸ Beresford held the same views, although less confidently (B.T. 1/30. Beresford to Castlereagh, July 11, 1806).

³⁹ *The London Gazette*, September 20, 1806.

⁴⁰ *The Times*, September 16, 1806.

⁴¹ B.T. 1/30 (Mark Summers, October 1, 1806).

⁴² B.T. 5/16, p. 371.

⁴³ B.T. 1/100 (Petition of September 14, 1815); *Parliamentary Papers*, 1814-1815, VII. (93), 365.

and British protection to an independent Paraguay beyond.⁴⁴ Such dreams were soon ended. Angered by subjection, and more interested in overthrowing the English than in commercial prosperity, the citizens of Buenos Aires suddenly attacked and forced Beresford to surrender. As the British fell back on Montevideo, Maldonado, and Colonia, to await help from England,⁴⁵ the merchants suffered heavy losses, but tried to continue business in the new centers on a lesser scale. On April 25, 1807, Sir Samuel Auchmuty, commanding officer, wrote:

In the present unsettled state of the country, it was not to be expected that British goods would find their way into the interior, but there is reason to believe that some Channels have been opened for their introduction.⁴⁶

For protection against foreign competition, he levied a duty of 10 per cent on tallow and an extra duty on hides exported by neutrals. In May, he estimated that goods (chiefly British manufactures) worth at least £1,209,600, had been sold, largely in retail shops set up in Monte Video by English Merchants, the Spaniards being fearful of effecting any wholesale bargains lest English goods in their possession should be confiscated in case of the Country being given up.⁴⁷

Unfortunately

old rubbish, that had been lying up for years in the warehouses, were [sic] shipped off, and disposed of at Monte Video, to the country dealers, who, on opening the packages for the retail trade, found the articles not only far inferior to the samples, but, in many instances, totally unfit for use. . . .⁴⁸

Thus a prejudice arose against British manufactures which continued for some time.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ *A Summary Account of the Vice-royalty of Buenos-Ayres* (London, [1806]), p. 39; Wilcocke, *op. cit.*, pp. 554-555.

⁴⁵ B.T. 1/35 (Petition of merchants, June 9, 1807); J. P. and W. P. Robertson, *Letters on Paraguay* (London, 1838-1839), I. 102.

⁴⁶ C.O. 324/68, p. 55.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

⁴⁸ . . . *Narrative . . . Craufurd . . .* p. 200.

⁴⁹ A. Gillespie, *Gleanings and Remarks . . . Buenos-Ayres* (Leeds, 1818), p. 71.

There could be no hope of normal trade until the question of ownership of Buenos Aires was settled. The delicate diplomatic situation into which the British government had been forced by the capture, caused division in the cabinet, delays and a half-hearted attitude when help was finally given.⁵⁰ The commander of the new expedition, Whitelocke, was instructed to establish English authority in the Plata basin, but otherwise to make as little change as possible.⁵¹ The commercial importance of the expedition was emphasized by the number of merchantmen which it convoyed, but the confidence of the merchants in England was soon changed to bitter disappointment. The bad strategy of the English and the courage of the natives caused such losses of men that Whitelocke agreed to leave the whole river Plata if all English prisoners were returned. His abandonment of Montevideo without an effort surprised even the Spanish-Americans, but he explained it on the ground that the city "can never be of any advantage while the capital of the Province and the great entrepôt of commerce remained in the hands of the enemy".⁵² His promise that "the merchants will be able to dispose of their goods advantageously before the evacuation"⁵³ was not fulfilled. English ships were forbidden by the authorities at Buenos Aires to sell their cargoes there,⁵⁴ and at Montevideo all was confusion,

owing to a recent order . . . for the re-embarkation of the British merchants and their goods, which was most unfortunately premature, for even until the last, adventures were hurrying down from the Upper Country to have made their purchases, as the whole of the interior was in the utmost want of European manufactures. . . .⁵⁵

The judge-advocate⁵⁶ at Whitelocke's trial agreed with the bitter feeling in England that withdrawal from Montevideo

⁵⁰ Baron Holland, *Memoirs of the Whig Party* (London, 1852), II. 113-115.

⁵¹ *Trial of Lieutenant-General Whitelocke* (London, 1808), Appendix, p. 2.

⁵² C.O. 324/68, p. 89.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 92-93.

⁵⁴ . . . *Narrative . . . Craufurd*, p. 171.

⁵⁵ Gillespie, *op. cit.*, pp. 278-279.

⁵⁶ *Trial of . . . Whitelocke*, p. 3.

was needless,⁵⁷ most of the inhabitants being considered friendly to the English.

In spite of the set-back, British ships continued to visit the river, providing almost the entire supply of the country,⁵⁸ largely through smuggling.⁵⁹ British warships called at times and gave protection to the merchants.⁶⁰ When, in 1808, the viceroy reluctantly permitted foreign trade,⁶¹ a number of British traders settled in Buenos Aires under special license from the Spanish government.⁶² Some even tried Paraguay, but they found the capital better suited for their purposes than backward Asunción.⁶³ The dumping of goods after the failure of the expedition proved, in fact, beneficial in the long run, for the excessively low prices brought once prohibitive luxuries into ordinary consumption, and even far inland a permanent taste was formed for "light, showy, thin and low-priced" goods of British manufacture.⁶⁴

Political unrest caused the chief problems of the merchants. Colonial self-confidence had been aroused by success against a British army, while the occupation had taught the benefits of freedom of trade. Local agitators, led by Moreno, pointed out the fiscal loss from smuggling, and the advantage to the treasury as well as to agriculture, if export of hides, tallow, and grain were permitted, replacing clandestine shipments of money.⁶⁵ The attitude was encouraged by an English newspaper, published at Montevideo, which advocated

⁵⁷ *Notes on the Viceroyalty of La Plata* (London, 1808), p. 102.

⁵⁸ M. Moreno, *Escritos políticos y económicos* (Buenos Aires, 1915), p. 9, quoting the *Gaceta de Buenos Aires* of September 30, 1809.

⁵⁹ D. L. Molinari, *Antecedentes de la Revolución de Mayo* (Buenos Aires, 1922-1926). Publications of the *Instituto de Investigaciones históricas*, Nos. 14, 20 (p. 9, note), 33.

⁶⁰ J. Luccock, *Notes on Rio de Janeiro* (London, 1820), p. 143.

⁶¹ B.T. 6/32 (Merchants' report of July 29, 1824).

⁶² M. G. Mulhall, *The English in South America* (Buenos Aires & London [1878]), p. 325.

⁶³ Luccock, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

⁶⁴ W. Walton, *Present State of the Spanish Colonies* (London, 1810), I. 349.

⁶⁵ Moreno, *op. cit.*, pp. 119, 127; R. Levene, *Los Orígenes*, p. 159.

rebellion from Spain.⁶⁶ In November, 1809, the newly created junta at Buenos Aires decreed free trade. All ships might unload, paying a duty of 24 per cent on the cargo at local prices, but goods must be consigned to resident Spanish merchants. No duty was payable on exports.⁶⁷ The Spanish viceroy, Cisneros, approved the decree.⁶⁸ For the moment, the British merchants profited, but soon they were ordered to leave, and sold their property at a loss of 40 per cent for fear of confiscation.⁶⁹ Hope was revived when the patriotic government in Spain offered to permit British trade in South America in return for British mediation with the rebellious colonies.⁷⁰ Spain soon cancelled the agreement, but now England refused to give up the right to trade.

Difficulties continued to increase. When, in May, 1810, a revolutionary government was set up at Buenos Aires, the Spaniards used Montevideo as a base for a blockade of the city.⁷¹ In the autumn, Admiral De Courcy insisted that the port be open to the English at least while the British minister at Cadiz was attempting mediation.⁷² Later, British merchants assisted in fitting out a fleet which helped capture Montevideo for the rebels in June, 1814. Officially, England and Spain were at peace and Spain continued spasmodically to offer concessions in America for English help. In 1812, Spain proposed direct commerce between England and Spanish America for three years in return for permission to raise a loan of £10,000,000 in London. England objected to the conditions imposed, repudiated special privileges, and recommended opening the ports to all nations, with fair rates of

⁶⁶ J. E. Guastavino, *Inglaterra y la Diplomacia de la Revolución de Mayo de 1810* (Buenos Aires, 1918), p. 45.

⁶⁷ B.T. 1/49 (Decree of November 3, 1809).

⁶⁸ *Documentos*, V. cxvi.

⁶⁹ B.T. 1/52 (De Courcy to Croker, May 3, 1810).

⁷⁰ *British and Foreign State Papers*, XI. 51 (Polignac Memorandum, October 9, 1823).

⁷¹ Robertson, . . . *Paraguay*, II. 132; Moreno, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

⁷² Public Record Office, London, F.O. 63/103 (De Courcy to Viceroy Elio, September 7, 1811).

duty and a preference for Spanish goods.⁷³ As no agreement was reached, the old restrictions continued, legal but ignored. Buenos Aires published its own regulations for registering merchants, fixing commissions,⁷⁴ and levying a duty of 25 per cent on foreign manufactures⁷⁵ which it admitted freely. As peace approached in Europe in 1814, merchants and manufacturers in Great Britain begged their government to remember their interests in any negotiations with Spain.⁷⁶ When the treaty of July 5, 1814, was published, it was seen, however, that Spain agreed merely to make a treaty of commerce as soon as possible, although it did promise most favored nation treatment to England if it ever opened the colonies to any foreign nation.⁷⁷ Meantime Spain preferred the status of 1796 and earlier and succeeded in binding England to try to stop the shipment of contraband to the rebels.⁷⁸ The British government faced a dilemma. The merchants favored Spanish-American independence, the ministers wished to keep the friendship of Spain, but desired not to antagonize the organized and influential commercial groups at home. The cabinet decided to persist in its old policy of urging Spain to open colonial trade, while refusing to help that country put down the rebellion with force in return for commercial concessions. For a time, in 1815, it withdrew protection from the trade to La Plata,⁷⁹ because of threats of a Spanish invasion there and reports of local antagonism to the British.⁸⁰ Once a rumor that an English frigate was sailing to Buenos Aires to embark English merchants and their property, worth perhaps £1,600,000, caused great alarm,⁸¹ but the government did not send it. In general, their policy was benevolent toward commerce.

⁷³ B.T. 1/64 (Hamilton to Chetwynd, May 6, 1812). B.T. 3/11, pp. 325-330.

⁷⁴ *Liverpool Mercury*, July 23, 1813. ⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, May 20, 1814.

⁷⁶ B.T. 1/89 (Petition of London merchants, May 19, 1814, etc.); B.T. 5/23, pp. 280-294, 345; B.T. 3/12, pp. 418-419, 436-438.

⁷⁷ *British and Foreign State Papers*, I. 274-275.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 202-203.

⁷⁹ B.T. 1/100 (Petition of September 14, 1815).

⁸⁰ B.T. 1/101 (Captain Fabian to Croker, October 24, 1815).

⁸¹ *Liverpool Mercury*, September 1, 1815.

Private enterprise was now active. Woolens, cottons, hardware, and pottery⁸² were sent to Buenos Aires to be exchanged for native produce, the value in 1816 being £388,487,⁸³ and in 1818, £730,808.⁸⁴ By 1817, a dozen prominent English merchants had establishments there,⁸⁵ of whom J. P. and W. P. Robertson were among the most active. In 1815, the former was at Corrientes, buying hides, wool, cotton, sugarcane and timber, in exchange for specie and manufactures.⁸⁶ The firm sent an adventurer, Campbell, to the villages and estates, where he made contracts with the inhabitants,

or he drove them into Corrientes or Goya, to replenish their shops from our warehouses, or with the money we advanced to lend increased activity to their *esquinas* or *pulperias*. . . .⁸⁷

As transportation was lacking, they organized a system, using covered carts.⁸⁸ Later Robertson wrote:

Often have I seen a landed proprietor . . . drive off himself, with six or eight mules, laden with our merchandize, to his estate. There he retailed out articles of clothing to his peons and neighbours; and brought back, under his own superintendence, the waggon-loads of hides which he had to give in return.⁸⁹

Disliking to continue so speculative an activity too long, Robertson closed this in 1817, and visited England. As he found the manufacturers ready to take the risks of export, he became a merchant in Liverpool, with branch agencies in Buenos Aires, Paraguay, Corrientes, and Santa Fé,⁹⁰ and connections with the Barings, Gladstones, and other leading English houses.⁹¹ Less profitable but equally enterprising was the coastal trading of Allsopp along Patagonia, from 1815 to

⁸² S. Haigh, *Sketches of Buenos Ayres and Chile* (London, 1829), p. 30.

⁸³ A. Caldcleugh, *Travels in South America* (London, 1825), I. 161.

⁸⁴ B.T. 6/32 (Merchants' report, July 29, 1824).

⁸⁵ M. G. Mulhall, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

⁸⁶ J. P. and W. P. Robertson, *Letters on South America* (London, 1843), I. 22-23.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, I. 177.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, I. 181-182.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, I. 237.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, III. 38-39.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, III. 101.

1819, successful until the shipwreck of the vessel.⁹² Many Englishmen kept retail shops in Buenos Aires and elsewhere, and commercial houses multiplied, most having correspondents in Chile and Peru as well as Rio de Janeiro and Montevideo.⁹³ Far inland they pushed their speculations,⁹⁴ for temporarily connections were unrestricted with Upper Peru, Paraguay, the Banda Oriental and other parts of the former viceroyalty.⁹⁵

The greatest hindrance remained the political uncertainty. Contraband was so easy along the shallow shores of the broad river, that possible restoration of the Spanish power and monopoly caused no great concern,⁹⁶ but instability within South America was disturbing. Upper Peru fought for Spain. Paraguay isolated itself under the dictator, Francia. Montevideo engaged in hostilities with Buenos Aires in a series of episodes, in which British and Brazilians took occasional part, disorder continuing until the Banda Oriental became the Republic of Uruguay in 1828. Buenos Aires suffered from the strife of its own rival leaders except under Rodriguez from 1820 to 1824.⁹⁷ At times, also, warfare and robberies on the pampas contributed to make trade with the interior almost impossible.⁹⁸

Great Britain, nevertheless, endeavored to encourage commerce with South America, for it offered a virgin field at a time when the old European markets were being contracted by the growth of native manufactures. Following a petition of merchants in 1822, the government altered the procedure

⁹² B.T. 1/138 (Lieut. W. Allsopp to Admiralty, July 10, 1819).

⁹³ Englishman, *A Five Years' Residence in Buenos Ayres* (London, 1825), pp. 34-35.

⁹⁴ B.T. 1/140 (Petition of S. McAlister, November 27, 1819).

⁹⁵ B.T. 6/32 (Merchants' report, July 29, 1824). Duplicates in F.O. 6/4, F. O. 54/3, F. O. 54/8).

⁹⁶ F.O. 83/81 (Foreign Office Circular, September, 1819).

⁹⁷ [Ygnacio Nuñez], *An Account . . . of the United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata* (London, 1825), p. 20.

⁹⁸ [Edward Hibbert], *Narrative of a Journey from Santiago de Chile to Buenos Ayres* (London, 1824), p. 63.

under the navigation laws to admit Spanish-American ships.⁹⁹ At one time, a British fleet was sent to Spanish-America to secure indemnity for losses to English merchant-shipping and prevent future injury. Finally, Spain felt compelled to cancel its prohibition of foreign trade with Spanish America.¹⁰⁰ The foreign office became more friendly to the merchants' plea for full recognition of Argentine independence, and when France invaded Spain and, it was said, planned to help reimpose the old colonial system, Canning¹⁰¹ announced that England could not withdraw interests long legally established in South America.¹⁰² He appointed Woodbine Parish consul-general to Buenos Aires "to protect, to support and to further the lawful Trade . . . and trading Interests of the united Kingdom by every fair and proper means. . . ."¹⁰³ Although English interests had previously been guarded by Robert Staples, acting semi-officially as consul in 1811, and by naval officers on the station,¹⁰⁴ the economic importance of the new step is shown in the increase of British exports to Buenos Aires from £639,121 in 1822 to £1,161,765 in 1823.¹⁰⁵ In 1825, Parish signed a commercial treaty with the Argentinians. It provided for mutual freedom of trade, complete protection of rights and property, equality under the law, and most favored nation treatment. It granted, also, freedom of worship, the right to dispose of property by will, and consular administration of estates of British subjects dying intestate.¹⁰⁶ It was perpetual, hence the legal basis of all later English commer-

⁹⁹ *British and Foreign State Papers*, IX. 897-898.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, XI. 864-865.

¹⁰¹ See H. W. V. Temperley, *The Foreign Policy of Canning, 1822-1827* (London, 1925), pp. 131-156; also, his introduction to F. A. Kirkpatrick, *A History of the Argentine Republic* (Cambridge, 1931).

¹⁰² *British and Foreign State Papers*, XI. 51.

¹⁰³ F.O. 354/1 (Canning to Parish, October 10, 1823).

¹⁰⁴ C. A. Rodney and J. Graham, *The Reports on the present State of the United Provinces* (London, 1819), p. 98.

¹⁰⁵ H. Smithers, *Liverpool, its Commerce, Statistics* (Liverpool, 1825), p. 164.

¹⁰⁶ L. and E. Hertslet, *Collection of the Treaties* (London, 1827-1895), III. 44-49.

cial relations with the region, as well as a pattern for other South American treaties. It came fully into effect when, by an order in council of September 3, 1827, Great Britain gave Argentine vessels equality with British in British ports.¹⁰⁷

Improved communications also aided commerce. The packetboats which began to connect England and Buenos Aires in April, 1824, carried mails for Chile and Peru as well.¹⁰⁸ Thanks to Parish, the fortnightly postal service to Chile became weekly,¹⁰⁹ and its route, via Mendoza, was now used by English traders who encouraged the growth of an increasing variety of produce to be exchanged for English goods.¹¹⁰ By 1825, the list included hides, lambskins, otter and chinchilla skins, wool, horse-hair, ostrich feathers, horns, skins of wolf, lion and tiger, tallow, hung beef, wheat, etc.¹¹¹ Three thousand Scots or English¹¹² had been attracted to the country, and forty British houses now existed in Buenos Aires.¹¹³ To their own competition was added that of native merchants. Indeed, speculation was so much overdone that, at times, prices of English manufactures were lower there than at home.¹¹⁴

Seeing the chief hope for increased consumption in the interior, Parish urged the sending of consuls to Corrientes, Salta, and Mendoza, but the foreign office approved only temporary agents to make inquiries at Corrientes and Salta.¹¹⁵ Parish himself tried to reopen communication with Paraguay. Robertson had gone there in 1811, and later had been alternately encouraged and harassed by the erratic Francia.¹¹⁶ John McFarlane had entered in 1820, sold his goods and received

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, IV. 192.

¹⁰⁸ Englishman, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

¹⁰⁹ F.O. 354/3 (Parish to Canning, December 10, 1824).

¹¹⁰ C. Brand, *Journal of a Voyage to Peru* (London, 1828), p. 269.

¹¹¹ Nuñez, *op. cit.*, pp. 215-216.

¹¹² F.O. 354/3 (Parish to Canning, April 25, 1824).

¹¹³ M. G. Mulhall, *op. cit.*, p. 328.

¹¹⁴ Englishman, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-93.

¹¹⁵ F.O. 354/3 (Parish to Canning, February 18, 1825); F.O. 354/2 (Planta to Parish, November 16, 1825).

¹¹⁶ Robertson, *South America*, I. 283-284, 301-302, II. 283-285, III. 118-119.

permission to take out a return cargo, when suddenly silence fell. Nor had word come from Robertson's brig, sent in 1821 to seek his property.¹¹⁷ Parish won the release of the detained Englishmen and their goods,¹¹⁸ but failed in negotiations to open trade.¹¹⁹ The country remained closed until 1841, except by a costly overland route through Brazil.¹²⁰

Even the coast now proved an uncertain area for business, owing to war. In 1825, a Brazilian squadron blockaded the Río de la Plata as far as San Pedro,¹²¹ when the Banda Oriental revolted from its conqueror, Brazil, and tried to join the United Provinces. At first, the British admiral stationed there insisted upon communication with the shores for his ships and the packets but, with legal advice, the home government reversed his orders.¹²² Inefficiency in the blockade permitted smuggling, however, and goods were even brought overland from the Pacific via Arica,¹²³ although high prices limited consumption. Heavy losses resulted also from deterioration of hides held in storage for export,¹²⁴ and from the fall of exchange from 45d. to 12d. in two years.¹²⁵ Trade was further disrupted by privateers from Buenos Aires.¹²⁶ In fact, conditions were so bad that only two British vessels arrived in 1827, and even when the blockade was lifted at the end of 1828, recovery was very slow, although fortunately speculators had been eliminated. The average declared value of British goods sent to the River Plate from 1822 through 1825 was £909,330 a year. In 1827, it was only £154,895, in

¹¹⁷ F.O. 6/4 (Montgomery, Robertson, and Watson to Sir Thomas Hardy, February 17, 1823).

¹¹⁸ F.O. 354/3 (Parish to Canning, February 18, 1825).

¹¹⁹ B.T. 1/254 (Ponsonby to Dudley, December 20, 1827); F.O. 354/3. *Passim*.

¹²⁰ J. R. Rengger and I. Longchamp, *Essai historique sur la Révolution du Paraguay* (Paris, 1827), p. 137.

¹²¹ Pierre Denis, *The Argentine Republic* (New York, 1922), p. 207.

¹²² F.O. 354/2 (C. Robinson, opinion of Doctors' Commons, February 25, 1826).

¹²³ F.O. 354/8 (Circular of Lezico and Co., Buenos Ayres, February, 1829).

¹²⁴ F.O. 354/4 (Report of merchants, Buenos Aires, December 31, 1827).

¹²⁵ W. McCann, *Two Thousand Miles' Ride through the Argentine Provinces* (London, 1853), I. 221.

¹²⁶ B.T. 1/247 (Petition of merchants trading to Brazil, February 4, 1828).

1828, £312,389, and from 1829 to 1837, £643,291.¹²⁷ Falling prices meant, however, greater importations than these figures would indicate, for the average importation of cotton goods from 1822 through 1825 was 10,811,762 yards, and from 1834 through 1837, 18,151,764 yards.¹²⁸

The years during and following the Brazilian blockade were filled with much diplomatic activity over the status of Montevideo.¹²⁹ In spite of the fact that union with Buenos Aires would have caused automatic application at Montevideo of the favorable commercial treaty with England of 1825, Lord Ponsonby, British mediator, preferred the erection of an independent state of Uruguay, for separation would mean that Montevideo would be available for commerce when civil wars closed the rival port.¹³⁰ Montevideo was also valued as giving access to a rich hinterland and as being a good port for transferring goods to smaller vessels which traded up the rivers.¹³¹ Uruguayan independence was therefore recognized, but the lack of a treaty proved an unexpectedly difficult stumbling-block.¹³² Repeated and prolonged negotiations resulted only in vexation until Uruguay took the initiative for reasons of its own, and asked for one in 1842.¹³³

Meanwhile, further blockades, bringing the total to 2,953 days between 1826 and 1848,¹³⁴ continued to impede commerce. France intervened against Buenos Aires¹³⁵ in March, 1838,

¹²⁷ Parish, *op. cit.*, pp. 340, 349-350.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 352.

¹²⁹ See E. J. Pratt, "Anglo-American Commercial and Political Rivalry on the Plata, 1820-1830", in the *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XI. 302-335 (August, 1931).

¹³⁰ A. de Brossard, *Considérations historiques et politiques sur les Républiques de la Plata* (Paris, 1850), pp. 124-125.

¹³¹ J. A. B. Beaumont, *Buenos Ayres* (London, 1828), p. 70.

¹³² B.T. 1/265 (Petition of Liverpool merchants, October, 1829); B.T. 5/40 (Minute of March 23, 1832); B.T. 3/23 (Lack to Shee, August 18, 1832).

¹³³ F.O. 6/47 (Hamilton to Palmerston, July 23, 1835); B.T. 3/26 (Lack to Fox Strangways, November 27, 1835); F.O. 51/21. *Passim*.

¹³⁴ Parish, *op. cit.* (1852 ed.), p. 358.

¹³⁵ *Ultimatum adressé par Mr. Aimé Roger, Consul de France, au Gouvernement du Buenos Ayres* (Buenos Aires, 1838), pp. 21-31; J. F. Cady, *Foreign In-*

and again in September, 1845, each time for nearly three years. The original issues concerned the rights of French citizens, but soon the local strife between federalist and unitarian parties became entangled in the quarrel. The injured British merchants resented the blockade as a deliberate French attack upon their interests, and took advantage of Rosas's reduction of duties at Buenos Aires, to run the blockade.¹³⁶ They suffered, however, from the growing poverty of the population, increased by the war then going on with Bolivia.¹³⁷ In March, 1839, the warehouses in Buenos Aires were nearly empty and business was stagnant.¹³⁸ Some imports were made into the upper provinces and Paraguay by the Uruguay River and parts of Brazil, but French restrictions made this route increasingly difficult.¹³⁹ Resentment against the French grew in England at the loss of a commerce involving £2,000,000 a year,¹⁴⁰ and a crisis threatened, but before it was reached, a changed situation in Europe led to a settlement, which left English prestige in South America higher than ever.

In January, 1841, Buenos Aires followed the European example and blockaded Montevideo. Uruguay sought British aid by an offer of great exclusive commercial concessions. These were rejected by Aberdeen, who re-asserted the now traditional English position of neither admitting nor desiring any special privilege. He did make a commercial treaty,¹⁴¹ and promised to strive for the tranquillity of the republic.¹⁴² Its enemy, Rosas, however, refused his offer of mediation, as

intervention in the Rio de la Plata, 1838-1850 (Philadelphia, 1929), pp. 31-37; C. Pereyra, *Rosas y Thiers: la Diplomacia Europea en el Rio de la Plata (1838-1850)* (Madrid, 1919).

¹³⁶ B.T. 1/344 (Mandeville to Palmerston, June 14, 1838).

¹³⁷ B.T. 1/344 (Griffiths to Palmerston, May 14, 1838).

¹³⁸ B.T. 2/5 (Griffiths to Palmerston, March 10, 1839).

¹³⁹ B.T. 1/354 (Hood to Palmerston, May 26, 1839).

¹⁴⁰ Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, 1839, 3d ser., XLVII. 1397; *ibid.*, XLIX. 385-387; *Parliamentary Papers*, 1839, XLVII. (202), 31.

¹⁴¹ F.O. 6/82 (Aberdeen to Mandeville, December 6, 1842).

¹⁴² F.O. 51/21 (Ellauri to Aberdeen, August 20, 1842).

well as the later joint British-French demand for an armistice to end the war. Commerce, which had begun to revive at Montevideo within twenty-four hours after this demand,¹⁴³ was crushed again by an eight-year siege of Montevideo by Rosas's ally, Oribe. England's policy was now definitely one of friendship with France and opposition to Buenos Aires. British merchants in Montevideo made most unfavorable representations about Rosas,¹⁴⁴ who was trying to give Buenos Aires a monopoly of the commerce of the region and contrasted the liberal commercial policy of Uruguay,¹⁴⁵ which now opened all its six ports by law, charged no transit duty, and granted equality between foreigners and natives. The foreign office preferred non-interference, if possible, but recognized that, "the Commercial interests of Great Br. are so intimately mixed up with her Political strength, that it becomes necessary to support the one in order to maintain the other."¹⁴⁶ The government, nevertheless, did not see fit to send naval reinforcements to support the Franco-British demands in behalf of Uruguay, although the local British commander succeeded in keeping the ports open to British ships for an additional six months.¹⁴⁷ The merchants tried to take advantage of such openings as there were, such as the concession made by Buenos Aires, in hopes of raising money, of substituting duties for prohibitions in the case of many foreign manufactures.¹⁴⁸ The gain was unfortunately more than offset by heavy losses following a speculation in hides there, when the Montevideans broke the market by selling great quantities unexpectedly through the Río Grande. The consequent bankruptcy of several native houses at Buenos Aires in 1844 produced a general

¹⁴³ F.O. 51/20 (Dale to Aberdeen, December 29, 1842).

¹⁴⁴ T. Baines, *Observations on the present State of the Affairs of the River Plate* (Liverpool, 1845), p. 11.

¹⁴⁵ F.O. 51/20 (Memorial of April, 1842, in Hood to Aberdeen, April 15, 1842).

¹⁴⁶ F.O. 97/284 (Memorandum of December 31, 1841).

¹⁴⁷ Cady, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

¹⁴⁸ F.O. 6/83 (Mandeville to Aberdeen, January 14, 1842, enclosing ordinance of December 21, 1841).

upheaval in which British merchants lost much and manufacturers who had sent goods on consignment, still more. The closing of the upper Paraná river brought further contraction of business, leaving open to foreign imports only a part of the interior of the United Provinces, that consumed about one-third of the entire normal supply.¹⁴⁹ The business world in England was much agitated over the situation. William Ewart acted as its spokesman in the house of commons, urging joint Franco-British action to enforce peace.¹⁵⁰ Peel, answering for the government, agreed on the great importance of the region for British commerce, and declared the cabinet ready for anything "short of armed mediation".¹⁵¹ Later he limited his promise to naval protection for British subjects against violation of the rights of neutrals or the law of nations.¹⁵² By January, 1845, however, England was prepared to join France in the first of a series of missions to Argentina, although still using its influence separately, as well.¹⁵³ In September, the emissaries jointly declared a strict blockade of Buenos Aires, and soon after, a Franco-British fleet forced its way up the Paraná River, to open the route to Corrientes and Paraguay. It escorted one hundred merchantmen, with cargoes worth \$1,600,000,¹⁵⁴ but achieved neither its political nor its economic objects because of the united opposition of all parties of natives to foreign intervention.¹⁵⁵ The English ships were soon ordered withdrawn from the blockade, partly, it was charged in France, owing to the influence of the house of Baring which had made a large loan to the government of Buenos Aires,¹⁵⁶ the interest on which could not be met so long as the blockade continued. Meantime the blockade of the

¹⁴⁹ J. MacGregor, *Commercial Statistics* (London, 1844-1850), III. 1382.

¹⁵⁰ Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, 1844, 3d ser., LXXXIII. 755.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 757.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 1844, 3d ser., LXXIV. 1259.

¹⁵³ *Colección de Documentos oficiales sobre la Misión de los Ministros de S. M. Británica, y S. M. el Rey de los Franceses cerca del Gobierno de Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires, 1845).

¹⁵⁴ Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, 1849, 3d ser., CIV. 609.

¹⁵⁵ Cady, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-159.

¹⁵⁶ Brossard, *op. cit.*, p. 343.

city had been somewhat relaxed and there had even been connivance at smuggling, since it benefited the finances of Uruguay as well as the profits of the foreigners.¹⁵⁷ Diplomatic efforts at settlement of the dispute continued, with decreasing harmony between English and French. The English withdrew from the blockade in July, 1847,¹⁵⁸ and the French gave it up in June, 1848. The British minister to Buenos Aires, Henry Southern, now made a pact by which the Argentinians should retire from Uruguay as soon as the French made peace and departed.¹⁵⁹ France signed a treaty in 1850,¹⁶⁰ but the siege of Montevideo by local combatants continued until Urquiza forced its surrender in October, 1851, after which he drove Rosas into exile in 1852, and established peace for a time on the rivers.

Commerce had already revived. In April, 1849, although many ships laden with British manufactures had previously arrived at Buenos Aires, goods were still sold on board, the moment the vessels anchored. One house alone sold cloth worth £20,000, and the average profits were said to be 40 per cent. The authorities gave every encouragement, including equality of Europeans and natives as to duties, charges, etc.¹⁶¹ British exports to the River Plate which had fallen to £187,481 in 1846, then risen to £490,504 in 1847 and £605,953 in 1848, now jumped to £1,399,575 in 1849 and remained at £909,280 the year after.¹⁶²

The accession of Urquiza opened a new era for Argentine commerce. Both he and his successor, Mitre, were eager to develop the resources of the country. Most important was the fact that he made treaties with Great Britain, France, and the United States, in order to internationalize the navigation

¹⁵⁷ W. Latham, *The States of the River Plate* (2d ed., London, 1868), p. 267; Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, 1849, 3d ser., CVIII. 94.

¹⁵⁸ Cady, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

¹⁵⁹ Hertslet, *Commercial Treaties*, VIII. 105.

¹⁶⁰ *British and Foreign State Papers*, XXXVII. 7-11.

¹⁶¹ F.O. 6/143 (Southern to Palmerston, April 4, 1849).

¹⁶² Parish, *op. cit.*, p. 369.

of the rivers Paraná and Uruguay within Argentine territory. He promised to mark the channels, and to establish a uniform system of dues at the ports. In case of war, the rivers were to be open for all commerce except in contraband of war. Brazil, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay, now all recognized as independent, were invited to join in the guarantee.¹⁶³ Freedom of commerce on one of the great water systems of the world was assured.

The use of steam-boats on the rivers, the building of railways, and the development of the pampas, caused more spectacular advances in the next half century, but the foundations of British commercial preëminence in Argentina had already been laid. In spite of occasional fumbling diplomacy, the policy of the British government had in the long run built up prestige and had secured all necessary privileges for its subjects. Mercantile houses had long established connections and sound knowledge of conditions, for pioneers had explored the country thoroughly for commercial prospects. The years of risk and hardship and losses had weeded out the irresponsible adventurers of the early days. A club of British merchants at Buenos Aires had become a clearing-house of information,¹⁶⁴ and, by taking a large share in Argentine banking, the English facilitated credit,¹⁶⁵ so necessary in a developing country. From its opening, the Río de la Plata had proven the most valuable of the Spanish-American markets to Great Britain,¹⁶⁶ and British goods were preferred to all others. A limitation had arisen from the problem of returns, but efforts had been made to meet it. Hides and tallow had been exported since the seventeenth century, and enormous quantities were now available since the cattle had multiplied undisturbed in the pampas while the ports were closed. English ranchers had

¹⁶³ Hertslet, *op. cit.*, IX. 191 ff. Other documents in S. G. Kerst, *Die Platastaaten, und die Wichtigkeit der Provinz Otuquis* (Berlin, 1854), pp. 109-138.

¹⁶⁴ Englishman, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

¹⁶⁵ L. H. Jenks, *The Migration of British Capital to 1875* (New York, 1926), p. 55.

¹⁶⁶ Parish, *op. cit.*, p. 368.

improved wool so much that exports rose from 30,359 pounds in 1832, to 2,207,951 pounds in 1837,¹⁶⁷ and 5,000,000 pounds in 1844.¹⁶⁸ Indigo found a market, and it was proven that cotton could be grown, although peace was necessary for the culture to be profitable. England profited by the almost complete lack of local manufactures, and sent textiles, cutlery, hardware, glass, pottery, and even coal at prices that long precluded serious competition from other nations.¹⁶⁹ Protected by treaties and assured by international agreement of the free navigation of the great rivers, British merchants cautiously pressed forward, asking only for internal peace in Argentina. Otherwise their position was secure.

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¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 359.

¹⁶⁸ Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, 1844, 3d ser., LXXIII. p. 756.

¹⁶⁹ Parish, *op. cit.*, pp. 362-363.

BOOK REVIEWS

La Francia y la Monarquía en el Plata (1818-1820). By MARIO BELGRANO. (Buenos Aires: Librería de A. García Santos, 1933. Pp. 230.)

Rivadavia y sus Gestiones diplomáticas con España (1815-1820). By MARIO BELGRANO. (Buenos Aires: Librería de A. García Santos, 1934. Pp. 122.)

Both of these monographs deal with the foreign policy of that nebulous political entity often designated La Plata—the State that developed into modern Argentina. They both consider problems which have from time to time been discussed by South-American writers. In the preparation of these booklets Señor Belgrano has consulted the writings of Cané, López, Mitre, and Villanueva. Personally or through agents he has consulted inedited papers in the archives of England and France. Further, he has been allowed to use copies of documents transcribed in the *Archivo General de Indias* for the learned *Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas* of Argentina. Most important of all perhaps, he has been privileged to search for materials in the *Archivo General de la Nación* at Buenos Aires. Although equipped with footnotes, unfortunately neither of these monographs contains a bibliography of the works consulted. The author does not seem to have noticed the views of North-Americans concerning the incidents in Argentine diplomatic and political history of which he treats.

The study describing the mission of Bernardino Rivadavia to Europe in 1814-1820 (already in its second edition) considers the attempts of that talented Argentine leader to negotiate with European nations on behalf of La Plata. These attempts were initiated by the dispatch in 1810 from Buenos Aires of Manuel Belgrano, Manuel de Sarratea, and Bernardino Rivadavia to Europe to negotiate with England or with Spain for the establishment of a monarchy in southern America. The notion apparently was that this monarchy might be ruled by a Spanish prince, by an English prince, or by a prince of some other European nation. Certain Platean leaders evidently enter-

tained the view that by engaging in such negotiations they might hasten the acknowledgment of their country's independence. The author describes Rivadavia's approaches in 1816 to Pedro de Cevallos, the Spanish secretary of state—approaches which led to the agent's expulsion from Spain in July, 1816. In 1818, Rivadavia turned up in Madrid again—again to be repulsed by the obstinacy of Ferdinand VII. and his advisers who had determined to continue the struggle for the complete reconquest of Spanish America.

The study concerning the relations between Spain and La Plata is supplemented by the monograph describing the informal negotiations between the French Government and the authorities at Buenos Aires respecting the establishment of a monarchy in La Plata. In this work, considerable attention is accorded to the quest of the French agent, Colonel Le Moyne, who sounded the Platean authorities concerning the creation of European appanages in Spanish America. Special attention is paid to the rôle of the Platean emissary, José Valentín Gómez, who was sent in 1819 by Director Pueyrredón of La Plata to treat with France concerning an acknowledgment of Argentine independence. The views of the French ministers of foreign affairs, Dessoles and Pasquier, with regard to the rising nations of Hispanic America are described. Some attention is also paid to the views of England and Spain with respect to the project for a monarchy seated at Buenos Aires. The reaction of Pueyrredón's political enemies to the monarchical scheme is discussed in considerable detail. Two documents from the Argentine archives are printed in the appendix.

These monographs cast fresh light upon significant and much-discussed incidents in Argentine diplomatic history. Unfortunately, there are certain features of that history which not even the Argentine archives can thoroughly explain, for certain documents have apparently disappeared from those archives. Whatever may have been the real views of Platean leaders with respect to the planting of a monarchy in southern South America, these monographs describe in significant detail the attempts of a Platean Government to negotiate with European powers in such a manner as might involve an acknowledgment of its independence.

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Rosas ante la Historia. By RAMÓN DE CASTRO ESTEVES. (Buenos Aires: J. Lajouane y Cía, 1931. Pp. 164.

This collection of monographic essays is an interesting addition to the long list of books that concern the career and significance of the Argentine Dictator, Juan Manuel de Rosas. Castro Esteves had already performed a valuable service to students of the age of tyranny in Argentina by his work entitled *Inquisiciones acerca de Rosas y su Época*. After a prologue by Enrique de Gandía, the author proceeds to consider four problems or groups of problems concerned with the tyrant. First, he discusses the suggestive work of Ernesto Quesada entitled *La Época de Rosas* and gives an estimate of its significance. Second, he considers the historic proposals for a monarchical régime in La Plata as a foil for tyrannical tendencies. Here he takes the view that their ancestral inheritance inclined certain Platean leaders toward the establishment of a monarchical system. He reasons, however, that the Rosista tyranny, which in a sense took the place of a kingship, did not destroy the tradition of liberty and idealism in Argentine political life. Third, he discusses at length the historical significance of José Mármol's romantic novel *Amalia* which deals with episodes of the age of Rosas. Fourth, he considers critically various phases of Rosas's dictatorship.

This booklet is one that should not be neglected by any student who wishes to keep in touch with the ebb and flow of Argentine historical opinion with respect to the good and the evil in the rule of this enigmatical dictator. Students of the history of Argentina will await with interest the publication of the book which Castro Esteves announces to be in preparation concerning the historiography of Rosas.

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON.

University of Illinois.

Orosio o Centauro dos Pampas. By GUSTAVO BARROSO. (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Guanabara, 1933. Pp. 196. 6 milreis.)

Tamandaré o Nelson Brasileiro. By GUSTAVO BARROSO. (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Guanabara, 1933. Pp. 219. 6 milreis.)

Sr. Gustavo Barroso is one of the best known literary figures of contemporary Brazil. His half hundred books include regional novels, historical romances, literary essays, studies in folklore, and last but not least a number of historical monographs and biographies. As

director of the Historical Museum of Rio de Janeiro he labored unremittingly for the collection and preservation of the mementos of Brazil's colorful past until it now houses one of the finest exhibits of its kind in South America. In recognition of his achievements in the literary and historical fields he was recently elected president of the Brazilian Academy of Letters.

The two books under review are biographies of a great soldier and a great sailor of the empire. Though admittedly popular in character they evidence wide reading and pains-taking research and are valuable additions to the biographical literature of the period. The first of our heroes, Manuel Luiz Osorio, the "Centaur of the Pampas", has become an almost legendary figure in Brazilian history. Born in 1808, he passed much of his boyhood fighting beside his father in the campaigns against the Portuguese and later against the forces of Artigas in Uruguay. He was present at the Brazilian disaster at Ituzaingó in 1828, and rose to the rank of major in the long civil war which desolated Rio Grande do Sul and was only brought to an end through the efforts of General Caxias in 1844. The value of this long apprenticeship in arms was made clear in the war against the dictator, Rosas, of Argentina which broke out in 1851. Once more Osorio, fighting under General Caxias, showed his rare military gifts. In the battle of Monte Caseros he won brilliant military laurels. He was now colonel in the imperial army.

To describe the activities of Osorio during the eventful years 1865-1870 would demand a survey of the entire Paraguayan War. There was hardly a major engagement in which Osorio did not take an important part. Dom Pedro created him Baron do Herval. Through Marshal Caxias he was raised to the rank of general. President Sarmiento conferred upon him the greatest distinction which the nation could bestow: citizenship of the Argentine Republic. Osorio died in 1879 in a blaze of glory. Shortly before his death he was made honorary marshal of the army. Next to Caxias he was the greatest soldier of the empire; and like many great soldiers he was utterly without pretense and simple and kindly in all his acts. It was literally true, as Sr. Barroso well says, that his religion was service to his country. He was a truly heroic and admirable figure.

The second of our two biographies is that of a great sailor. His career presents a certain parallel to that of Osorio. Less than four months separated their dates of birth. Both rose to eminence in the

Platine wars, at approximately the same time. The career of each admirably sums up the history of their respective branches of service during the most critical years of the empire.

Joaquim Marquez Lisbôa, the future Admiral and Marquis of Tamandaré, served as a mere boy under the great Cochrane who declared to Dom Pedro I. that the young naval ensign would some day be the Lord Nelson of Brazil. While Osorio was fighting in Uruguay, Marquez Lisbôa was gaining renown in the Brazilian navy. For a time after the departure of Cochrane it had suffered severely in prestige and effectiveness, but with the appointment of Marquez Lisbôa as commander of the fleet and vice-admiral in 1855 Brazil was once more supplied with a navy second to none in South America. He realized the supreme importance of steam as applied to navigation. Sr. Barroso goes so far as to style him "O creador da Nova Marina. He was created Baron de Tamandaré in 1860 and later raised to the rank of marquis. To this brilliant seaman the Paraguayan War brought undying renown. Brazil's most brilliant naval victories were due to his skill, and as in the case of Osorio an account of his exploits would mean the history of the period. Tamandaré lived on until 1897. Though intensely devoted to Dom Pedro he felt that his first allegiance was to Brazil and with the advent of the republic he continued to serve as a member of the supreme military tribunal, a post which he had held for many years. But it was thoroughly characteristic of the aged admiral that when Vice-President Floriano Peixoto in 1892 arbitrarily imprisoned or degraded the thirteen generals who had protested against his illegal acts, Tamandaré personally informed the vice-president that he wished to have the same punishment meted out to himself.

The world has found by sad experience that the real architects of a nation's greatness are not apt to be its soldiers and sailors. But whatever be the final verdict on the justice or wisdom of the imperial campaigns in the territory and waters of the Platine republics, Osorio and Tamandaré have left examples of skill, courage, and patriotism which are among Brazil's most priceless heritages.

PERCY ALVIN MARTIN.

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La Fronda aristocrática en Chile. By ALBERTO EDWARDS. (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Nacional, 1928. Pp. 308. Indice.)

Chile y los Chilenos. By ALBERTO CABERO. (Santiago de Chile: Editorial Nascimento, 1926. Pp. 440. Indice.)

La eterna Crisis Chilena. By CARLOS KELLER R. (Santiago de Chile: Editorial Nascimento, 1933. Pp. 323. Indice.)

Estudio de Política comercial Chilena e Historia económica nacional. By DANIEL MARTNER. 2 vols. (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Universitaria, 1923. Pp. XV, 306; VI, 307-720. Indice.)

Nuestra Evolución político-social (1900-1930). By JORGE GUSTAVO SILVA. (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Nascimento, 1931. Pp. 167. Indice.)

These five works represent recent tendencies in writing Chilean history. The early school of historians devoted attention primarily to the political events and to biographies that belonged to the first half century of national existence or to colonial times. The present writers do not neglect social and economic conditions that affected these earlier periods nor do they wholly eschew politics in their discussions, but they are primarily interested in summarizing general tendencies and in philosophizing about them rather than devoting their narratives exclusively to political happenings. Four of them, at least, have held important state offices, generally connected with fiscal operations, while the fifth is well known as a writer and lecturer on the outstanding topics of the day. Hence they are well prepared to discuss and, in some cases, to decry the tendencies of their time and to point out what seem to them the proper measures to meet pressing problems.

The late Señor Alberto Edwards, for he died in 1932, had a long and honorable record in public service. Family connections, careful training, and deep thought prepared an unusually active mind for reflective writing. He early attracted attention by a brief but well ordered study, *Bosquejo histórico de los Partidos políticos Chilenos*, which appeared in 1903. The present volume published a quarter of a century later expands this early study of Chilean politics, adds suggestive comments to each major development therein, and continues the treatment to the date of publication. Señor Edwards is an admirer, one might say imitator, of Spengler, with considerable originality in applying his master's theses. Chile, to him, was after 1833

"a republic in form". The government almost from the beginning, however, aroused opposition among those who created or continued it but who felt themselves at times shut out from its management. A *fronda*, according to our author, was almost always in existence, a *fronda* composed of an aristocratic nucleus changing its composition from time to time but never changing the center of its attack. This, Señor Edwards believes, is the key to an understanding of Chilean history.

Naturally, our author admires Portales and gives him full credit for the subsequent orderly course of development in Chile up to the end of the nineteenth century. Likewise too, he reverences the name of Manuel Montt whose administration is the subject of his posthumous work. His character sketches of other leaders and the story of their relations to their contemporaries are equally well executed. He has very little faith in popular government, hence the cover of his book fittingly bears a replica of the well-known statue of Portales, while the portrait of General Ibáñez forms its frontispiece.

Señor Cabero presents a different view. His substantial volume is the product of a series of lectures delivered in Antofagasta, during the troubled years 1924 and 1925. He attempts to interpret the spirit of his fellow countrymen in the light of their physical surroundings and racial descent and through their historical evolution, both economic and social. To his task he brings a thorough knowledge of their past history and their social psychology. He discusses in some detail characteristic outcroppings of Hispanic America, such as the development of an aristocratic class, the continuous subjection of the great mass of the population, the development of *caudillismo*, the influence of foreign capital, the affect of too great a reliance on a single important product, the slow but effective progress brought about by increased educational facilities, and the relatively late awakening of social consciousness. Chile is a country that presents virtually all these phases of development as they have appeared in southern South America since independence. It is a country of relatively compact population, hence it is easy to study within its narrow compass these separate manifestations and, at the same time, to note how its people are affected by territorial and economic expansion beyond its original limits. The addition of the nitrate regions to the north, as a result of the war of the Pacific, the exploitation of the southern fostered area, when the Araucanian Indians were once entirely subdued—these place

Chile among the expanding nations of the western continent, while its environment, its people, and its history inevitably link it with countries to the northward which it has so far out-distanced.

Character sketches form the most significant features of Señor Cabero's work. He devotes a long chapter to political and constitutional evolution of the country and more brief ones to the economic and social evolution. One may not agree with all his characterizations, nor accept all of his opinions, but one must acknowledge that he has presented to us a faithful picture as he views it and one that is put together with no little literary skill. Few phases of the republic's manifold life escape his intelligent observation.

Señor Keller, as his name indicates, shows a strain derived from the German immigration that has so greatly influenced Chilean development during the last three quarters of a century. He writes primarily for a Chilean audience and he takes it for granted that his readers have a basic knowledge of their country's history. He is at present connected with the Dirección General de Estadística and the latest *Sinopsis Geográfico-Estadística* of the republic carries his name as director, but he is a philosopher who deals with social and economic forces as keenly as Señor Edwards does with politics, and with greater intensity. He bestows a hasty glance on the political organization of the country and then a briefer one on its cultural evolution and on its economic spirit and structure. This prepares him for a convincing chapter on its political economy and for a more detailed discussion of mining, agriculture, colonization, and the population in general. He depicts Chilean development at different periods and in its characteristic phases from the day of the landholding aristocracy to the present misery of the lowest laboring classes with a keen and, at times, bitter pen. His object is to show that the present crisis which afflicts the country is one that is due to causes which are both immediate and remote, and superficial and profound; that these causes affect all political, cultural, and economic activities; that they touch all classes of people. While they may seem most grave in political affairs, they are present in all manifestations of national life. No one government, no one class, above all no one individual is responsible for the situation. It is a collective responsibility and demands a universal change—one that is mental and moral as well as material. Señor Keller is a severe preacher but he speaks with both force and understanding.

An earlier work is that of Señor Martner, like the preceding

author, of part German origin. Apparently some of the best social and economic work of present day Chile springs from this same north European strain. At any rate, we may conclude that the country today derives its Germanic influence from the migration of the nineteenth century rather than that of the fifth, as Alejandro Fuenzalida Grandón in *La Evolucion social de Chile* would have us believe. After initial training in law, Señor Martner became professor of public finance in the University of Chile. He is the author of an important text on political economy, and served as minister of finance during President Alessandri's first administration. He writes, therefore, with authority based on experience, an authority that is well supplemented in bibliography and footnotes. After devoting a third of the first volume to the fundamental principles that have determined national economy and the fundamental bases on which it has rested—property, production, prices, commerce, ideals—he describes the evolution of the country as affected by these elements from the day of independence to the period in which he writes. He fittingly closes his narrative with the year in which he took office under President Alessandri.

His discussion follows the line of presidential succession. Each administration is described in terms of its problems and activities with statistical tables showing governmental receipts and expenditures, commerce and the nations with which it is carried on and the amount with each, general fiscal and trading conditions—internal and external, growth in population, wealth, and economic activity. After presenting these facts in detail, the author sums up for each administration the outstanding features that determined or retarded progress. His critical judgments constitute an excellent summary of Chile's economic history. Each volume is preceded by an analytic index of materials and an index of names closes the work.

The little book of Señor Gustavo Silva is less a chronicle of facts than a work of social propaganda. From his position as occasional professor in the University of Chile, the author has had opportunity to express his views in articles and public addresses which are here brought together to stimulate interest in matters that should be of increasing importance to the country. He draws heavily upon contemporary writers of other lands to support his views, and in the course of thirty years has done much to arouse his countrymen to the need of better local welfare work. He apparently has had some in-

fluence with party organizations and occasionally has served the government in enforcing recent legislation. His views are indicative of an awakening interest in this field.

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Francisco de Urdiñola y el Norte de la Nueva España. By VITO ALESSIO ROBLES. (Mexico: Imprenta Mundial, Miravalle, 13, 1931. Illustrations and maps. Pp. XXV, 333.)

Francisco de Urdiñola played a large part in the affairs of northern New Spain—in Nueva Galicia and Nueva Vizcaya—in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. He was Indian fighter, miner, cattle-raiser, agriculturalist, colonizer, and governor. So important were his services that he should be ranked with contemporary conquistadores such as Luís de Carabajal and Juan de Oñate. But unfortunately, prior to the appearance of the present study by Señor Alessio Robles, very little was known about Urdiñola, and much of that meager information was tainted with error.

There were two major "myths" concerning Urdiñola. The first represented Francisco de Urdiñola, "El Mozo", to be the son of Francisco de Urdiñola, "El Viejo", a great conquistador and frontier magnate of the middle sixteenth century. Señor Alessio Robles finds that Urdiñola came to America shortly after 1572 as a poor boy, and that his father, Juan de Urdiñola, never came to America. Thus he explodes the myth of the two Urdiñolas.

A second "myth" represented the conquistador as a monster of wickedness and perfidy who numbered among his numerous victims murdered in cold blood, his own wife. The evidence according to Robles, proves that Urdiñola was the innocent victim of an unscrupulous enemy, Juan Bautista de Lomas y Colmenares, a disappointed applicant for a commission to colonize New Mexico. This commission, after the elimination of many applicants, had been awarded to Urdiñola. Although acquitted of the charge that he murdered his wife, the protracted trial caused Urdiñola to lose his commission to colonize New Mexico. But for the opposition of Lomas y Colmenares, Francisco de Urdiñola and not Juan de Oñate would have been the conquistador of New Mexico.

By dint of patient, thorough, and critical examination of documen-

tary evidence, Señor Alessio Robles paints in its true colors the portrait of the authentic Urdiñola. He writes:

The figure of this conquistador is one of surpassing interest. A man of energy, of intelligence, and of character, he was able to raise himself from the most humble stations to those most elevated in the viceroyalty. His enemies, strong and powerful, heaped obstacles in his path but he knew how to surmount them and rise by his own efforts. He was a valiant and skilled soldier, a successful miner, cultivator, stockman, and industrialist. In many ways the figure of Don Francisco de Urdiñola stands in higher relief than does the figure of that other illustrious Basque, who was called Don Francisco de Ibarra.

He was captain of Mazapil, founder of the towns of San Estéban de Nueva Tlaxcala (adjoining the villa of Santiago del Saltillo), of Concepción del Oro, of Parras, and of Los Patos; lieutenant to the governor and captain general of Nueva Galicia, and for many years he was governor of Nueva Vizcaya.

The account which the author unfolds of Francisco de Urdiñola is human, dramatic, and intriguing. Yet it is more than the biography of a man—it is an important contribution to the history of a period and a region of New Spain about which very little has been known.

J. LLOYD MECHAM.

University of Texas.

Evolução do Povo Brasileiro. 2a edição. By F. J. OLIVEIRA VIANNA. [Bibliotheca Pedagógica Brasileira, Serie V, Brasiliana, Vol. X.] (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1933. Pp. 327.)

Populações Meridionaes do Brasil: Historia, Organização, Psychologia. Primeira volume. 3a edição. By F. J. OLIVEIRA VIANNA. [Bibliotheca Pedagógica Brasileira, Serie V, Brasiliana, Vol. VIII.] (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1933. Pp. 452.)

Populações Paulistas. By ALFREDO ELLIS, JUNIOR. [Bibliotheca Pedagógica Brasileira, Serie V, Brasiliana, Vol. XXVII.] (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1934. Pp. 364.)

Though the two works by Sr. Oliveira Vianna have appeared in earlier editions, they are hardly known in English-language countries. Hence, since they are again in print they deserve a brief notice here, for they may render considerable service to historians.

The volume on the *Evolução do Povo Brasileiro* treats of the social, ethnical, and political evolution of the nation, which the author believes shows tendencies that are becoming more marked with the passage of time: the movement of the population toward the central

plains of the country; the Aryanization of the mixed groups; and the centralization of the government. He persists in his earlier view that it is the strong strain of the blonde dolicho-cephalic type of Lapouge in the *bandeirantes* that explains the exceptional psychology of these energetic adventurers. The first 150 pages of the book, dealing with racial and social evolution, is perhaps the most helpful part for American readers. It includes consideration of the indigenes, the economic activities of the early white settlers and their expansion into the interior, the slave régime, distribution of later European immigrants, the effects of race mixture, and statistics to show the progressive Aryanization of the population.

Populações Meridionaes do Brasil is composed of five parts: "A Aristocracia Rural", "Formação Historica", "Formação Social", "Formação Politica", and "Psychologia Politica". The book calls attention to the frequently overlooked fact that many Portuguese of the bluest blood settled in Brazil during the colonial era. It also takes into account the despotic position of *pater-familias* during that period. Sr. Oliveira Vianna treats frankly the oppression of the judicial system of colonial days and also the "white anarchy", which was partly fostered by the patriarchal clans. The short chapter on the "Função politica da Corão", shows well the author's ability to epitomize as well as to analyze. One of the most interesting parts of the book is the last, which deals with the psychology of the revolutions. The south central part of the country, in the opinion of Sr. Oliveira Vianna, has played an important rôle, as moderator and pacificator, in these struggles.

Alfredo Ellis, Junior's, *Populações Paulistas* is perhaps the most valuable of the three works, for it is a comparatively intensive and a well documented study. Thanks to the labors of Pedro Taques, Silva Leme, and other men of lesser note, the author was able to make a survey of the population from the sixteenth century to the present. After consideration of the development of the Paulista type before the great immigration following abolition of slavery, the work takes up in turn the Negro, Italian, Spaniard, Portuguese, Japanese, Syrian, German, Austrian, Hungarian, and various immigrants of minor importance; also Brazilians from other provinces who have settled in São Paulo. This comprises the first part of the book. The second part is devoted to the occupational distribution, urban and rural, of the

various elements of the population. There are numerous graphs, charts, and tables of statistics to amplify the text.

The evidence presented by Sr. Ellis shows that in Brazil the death rate of Negroes and mulattoes, in comparison with their birthrate, is decidedly higher than for whites. It also shows that here, as in the United States, the nationalistic Japanese tend to remain apart and not to assimilate with the population as a whole. But their ultimate mergence with the other elements of the population seems assured by the fact that those with families settle in rural sections. On the other hand, the Syrians, folk without a real country of their own, have rapidly and gladly identified themselves with the native Brazilians. The wealthier ones have acquired palatial homes on the Avenida Paulista in the capital of the state, have sent their children to Roman Catholic private schools, and have joined some of the most exclusive clubs of the city. Furthermore, when, in 1932, São Paulo fought desperately for independence from the republic, the Syrians were among the staunchest supporters of the strife and many of them were at the battle front.

Sr. Ellis points out, however, that the population of the State, as a whole, loyally supported the revolutionary cause, like "a band of brothers". This fact, as well as the valuable part played by all elements of the population in the economic life of the state, support the author in his opposition to Oliveira Vianna's theory regarding the superiority of the long-headed blonde elements. But Sr. Ellis thinks that the time has come for more careful selection from the various nationalities which seek Brazilian shores.

MARY WILHELMINE WILLIAMS.

Goucher College.

Barros Arana, Educador, Historiador y Hombre Público. By RICARDO DONOSO. (Santiago: Universidad de Chile, 1931. Pp. 337.)

Chile consists of a relatively thin strip of territory bordering the west coast of South America with a total area less than twice that of California, but it is doubtful if any other country of Hispanic America has produced so outstanding a group of remarkable scholars. The names of Barros Arana, Vicuña Mackenna, the two Amunáteguis, Medina, come instantly to mind as representative of the highest type of South American scholarship. All these *chilenos*—and Bello might be added to these, though he was born in Caracas—are known by their

writings which are of profound importance and permanent value; their names will loom large in the history of Spanish American culture. The first mentioned, the author of the monumental *Historia General de Chile*, is here the subject of a full-length biography by the distinguished director of the archives section of the national library at Santiago de Chile, who has also made similar studies of Vicuña Mackenna and the diplomat, Irisarri.

As the title indicates, Sr. Donoso presents a three-fold account of the life of Barros Arana, that is, as educator, historian, and statesman. Considerable space is devoted to the participation of the Chilean scholar in the extended diplomatic negotiations between his country and Argentina arising from a boundary dispute that seriously strained the peaceful relations of the two republics. Though Barros Arana played an honorable part in the eventual settling of this delicate problem, one feels that he was not at his best as a diplomat or conciliator. More in keeping with his extraordinary talents was his work as an educator. Appointed rector of the national institute in 1863, he applied himself with tireless devotion to educational reforms, both in the secondary schools and later in the university. The curricula and methods remained much the same as in the colonial period and were sadly in need of modernization. Lessons were almost solely the memorizing of texts and the latter were hopelessly archaic and inadequate. To remedy this fundamental defect, Barros Arana found time amidst pressing administrative duties to prepare a set of up-to-date textbooks on nearly all the subjects then taught in the schools. In doing this he did not resort to the usual procedure of translating a text used in French schools but wrote entirely new books in simple, straight-forward Castilian. His effort to instil a new spirit into the educational system of Chile suggests the even more profound work of Don Francisco Giner de los Ríos in Spain which was beginning about the same time. Both men were compelled to wrestle with traditional and reactionary forces, and Barros Arana was finally compelled to give up his rectorship by their hostility after ten years of remarkable service. Though his retirement was thus brought about, he had succeeded in initiating permanent improvement in the essentially medieval methods previously employed and had greatly enhanced his personal reputation.

It is as the scholar and man of letters that Barros Arana's claim to distinction is most clear, and upon this base his fame is most as-

sured. He was a born investigator with an eager, insatiable curiosity constantly striving to ferret out facts; quickly he acquired a knowledge of many fields of human interest which was encyclopedic. His was the intellect of the scholar of the renaissance of which there were numerous worthy followers both in colonial and republican Spanish America. His ardent patriotism naturally turned his interests in the direction of the history of his country and, hardly more than out of his teens, he had completed a four-volume work entitled *Historia general de la Independencia de Chile*. This still valuable work was based on a careful investigation of the books and manuscripts that he found both in the public and private libraries and archives of Chile, and on the personal accounts of survivors of the struggle for national independence whom he knew. Like most young intellectuals of Hispanic America, he early participated in politics, and soon he found himself obliged to flee the country, first to Argentina and thence to Europe. During this exile and a later visit he assembled and copied a vast amount of documentary material relating to his native land from the archives of Spain, France, and England. These precious data were incorporated into innumerable writings which poured continuously from his pen and especially in his vast *Historia general de Chile*. In January, 1875, he and Miguel Luis Amunátegui launched that most excellent organ of the intellectual life of Chile, the *Revista Chilena*, to which he contributed many of its valuable articles besides editing two of its departments—one of a bibliographical nature in which he gave notices of all recent books of importance pertaining to Chile and Spanish America, and the other devoted to often extensive necrological items concerning writers and personalities associated with American history.

Sr. Donoso gives an interesting account of the inception and writing of Barros Arana's *opus magnum*, the great history of Chile in fifteen volumes, to which the historian gave eighteen years of his life. Into this vast work he poured in prolix detail the huge store of information that he had acquired in thirty or more years of assembling material, much of it hitherto unutilized. Though some sections of this work have subsequently been rejected or supplanted, most of it remains intact and will stand as a lasting monument to its indefatigable author.

This somewhat eulogistic biography tells us, perhaps, more about what Barros Arana *did* than what he *was*, but that is natural in

recording such a busy life. Some traits of character, however, do stand out. His integrity and moral independence are revealed in his diplomatic and pedagogical activities. As one who had so often "gone back to the sources" in his writing and ideas, he was impatient of dogmatic assertions and had slight respect for traditions based upon them. It was inevitable, therefore, that he should be something of a skeptic or agnostic in religious matters. One feels a certain admiration for that rugged independence when, unlike so many other liberals and thinkers, he refused to be reconciled with the Church on his deathbed. He remained true to his lifelong convictions, dying November 4, 1907, at the age of seventy-seven.

An appendix contains hitherto unpublished documents pertaining to the boundary dispute between Chile and Argentina, the brief will of Barros Arana, a bibliography of his writings in chronological order, and a bio-bibliography. There is no index but the table of contents gives detailed chapter headings. The work, taken as a whole, is a splendid addition to a growing literature of the cultural history of Spanish America.

IRVING A. LEONARD.

University of California,
Berkeley.

O Marquez de Abrantes. By PEDRO CALMON. (Rio de Janeiro, Editora Guanabara, Waissman, Koogan Ltda., 1933. Pp. 300.)

The author of this book is one of the most prolific contemporary writers of Brazil. During the last ten years or so he has produced about a dozen volumes on literary subjects, law, history, and economics, besides numerous contributions to newspapers and magazines. This he has done apparently without neglecting his political and professional duties, having represented with great distinction his native state in the federal chamber of deputies during the last years of the "old republic" and occupying the chair of history at the normal school in Rio de Janeiro.

It is not surprising therefore to find that in spite of the brilliancy of his literary style and truly remarkable breadth of historical knowledge, his works show a rather confused general arrangement of materials and do not give the reader a clear-cut picture of their subject matter. This is particularly true in the present volume. No subject could possibly be of greater interest to the author than the personality

of his distinguished ancestor, Miguel Calmon du Pin e Almeida, better known in Brazilian history as the Marquez de Abrantes, yet although the participation by Abrantes in the political life of the first and second empires is well presented by the author, a sufficient biographical delineation of that eminent Brazilian statesman is lacking. At the same time, Sr. Calmon missed the opportunity to depict Brazilian society during the first half of the nineteenth century with requisite clearness. After all, Abrantes was one of the best representatives of that landed aristocracy which produced the Andrada brothers, Barbacena, Caxias, and so many others, and which was responsible for the victory of the independence movement and the establishment and consolidation of the monarchical régime in Brazil.

The personality of Abrantes is, indeed, of tremendous interest to the student of Brazilian history. Born in Bahia, of a distinguished and wealthy family which had settled in Brazil during the sixteenth century, Miguel Calmon was educated in Coimbra, Portugal. He began his political career by taking to Bahia in 1822 a collective letter written to their constituents by the representatives from that province in the *cortes* of Lisbon. In the short struggles between the Portuguese and Brazilian patriots, Miguel Calmon took a prominent part, being responsible for the organization in Bahia of the so-called *Caixas militares* which gathered funds for the support of the patriotic troops. He was a member of the provisional council which governed Bahia until the establishment of a regular government and in July, 1823, was elected, with two other patriots, to represent his native province in the constituent assembly which met at Rio de Janeiro in May of that year.

During the stormy sessions of the assembly, Calmon attempted, although in vain, to call attention to the economic needs of the country. In the struggle between the constituent assembly and the crown, Calmon sided with Dom Pedro I., whose faithful friend he remained for many years, in fact, until he was repudiated by the emperor himself.

After the dissolution of the assembly by the emperor, Calmon returned to Bahia and was once more elected to represent his native province in the legislative assembly convened by Dom Pedro to meet in 1826 under the new constitution of 1824; but before taking his seat in that body, made a trip to Europe in order to study political and economic matters. The parliamentary system of England and, above

all, the industrial revolution with all its economic implications, fascinated him so much that while in Switzerland he began to write his impressions and his volume *Cartas politicas de Americus*, was published in London in 1826, just before he returned to Brazil.

Back in Rio de Janeiro, Calmon devoted the best of his time and energy to the service of his country. Appointed minister of finance four times (in 1827, 1828, 1841, and 1863), and minister of foreign affairs twice (in 1837 and 1862), he may truly be considered one of the most dynamic and progressive statesmen of the monarchical era in Brazil. As minister of finance, he defended the funding of the public debt, the stabilization of the currency, the establishment of an amortization agency, and the adoption of a new budgetary system. Under different circumstances he might have done for Brazil what Alexander Hamilton did for the United States after 1789. As minister of foreign affairs, he signed a treaty of amity and boundaries with Colombia and a treaty of commerce and navigation with the United States, sent diplomatic representatives to several foreign countries, and in general opposed the intervention of Brazil in the Portuguese question. But his best known service to Brazil was his noble, calm, and dignified action during the Christie dispute with Great Britain, which was eventually submitted to arbitration in 1863, but not really settled until 1865, when Great Britain, on renewing diplomatic relations with Brazil, recognized the rights of that country and accepted the arbitral award of the king of Belgium. In recognition of his services, he had been created Marquis of Abrantes in 1854. For ten years longer he remained active in politics, and died on October 5, 1865, shortly after the announcement of the award noted above.

A list of sources and other material used by the author, is appended at the end of the volume. There are no reference notes.

RAUL D'ECA.

Pan American Union.

Un Haitien Parle. By DANTES BELLEGARDE. (Port-au-Prince: Cherequit, Publishers, 1934. \$1.20.)

Dantès Bellegarde, primarily diplomat rather than author, gives us here one of those complications frequently met with in Hispanic America of articles, speeches, and addresses collected from his quarter-century of service. It is an unusually interesting, balanced, and thoroughgoing specimen of its genus. The expression of a political

creed, *Un Haitien Parle* is an analysis across the years of the Haitian problem, its political aspects, its historic evolution. M. Bellegarde has represented his country brilliantly in Paris, Geneva, and Washington, and the work under review is a perspective of Haiti from such vantage points. The Haitian panorama is viewed with affection and comprehension, and analyzed by a mind keenly critical but never petulant.

In the course of the book, three themes recur insistently: the problem of education, the agrarian and rural question, and foreign relations. The section entitled *Haiti and its People* is a concise summary of the physical and spiritual condition of the republic and its two and one-half millions of inhabitants. It depicts forcefully the contrast between present-day Haiti and the colony abandoned by the French. The difference between the ancient Saint Domingue and the contemporary nation is the chief factor in the Haitian problem. An arbitrary estimate of present-day levels of culture and progress, without comprehending the fact that all advance has necessarily been relative, would be a capital error. Haiti's achievement is remarkable not in the light of what it could be, but in that of what it is in spite of the multiple disadvantages inherent in its colonial origins.

M. Bellegarde shows himself deeply concerned with the problem of popular education. His fine address on educational work, here reproduced, is perhaps the most hopeful section of his book. It gives his concept of public education and sketches rapidly the national educational program, rooted in a profoundly democratic ideology. No less illuminating are chapters dealing with the school and the community, agricultural organization, the problems of poverty in Haiti, the basic questions of export and the customs system. Particularly significant is the vibrant address delivered in Port-au-Prince in 1925 before the general assembly of the Haitian League for the Rights of Man. Omitting oratorical flourishes, M. Bellegarde, just returned to Haiti from his third mission abroad, declared his conviction of

the necessity that the Haitian nation battle without ceasing to make respected its rights and the rights of all for an independent life: and this, not only for its own honor, but for the dignity of the race to which it is proud to belong.

That forthright and uncompromising address long antedated the day of the withdrawal of the United States troops, and of a good-neighbor policy. It was in itself part of the intense campaign of publicity carried on by diverse Haitian organizations to inform the world—and

particularly North America—of Haiti's intolerable position under a military occupation. It makes incidental reference to the author's service on the committee on slavery of the League of Nations, he being the first colored member of the committee.

The *apología* for the revindication of national rights is followed by various related studies dealing with international politics, international peace, and the world crisis. The closing chapter is M. Bellegarde's address at a banquet in New York in honor of James Weldon Johnson. It is a conscientious and suggestive study of the racial question, especially of African interrelationship in Haiti and in the United States; a delicate problem on which little has been written.

M. Bellegarde has made a contribution of positive value to our knowledge of Haiti.

RICHARD PATTEE.

University of Puerto Rico.

El Tratado Lozano-Salomon. By FABIO LOZANO Y TORRIJOS. (Mexico: Editorial "Cultura", 1934. Pp. 616.)

This book is a detailed account of the boundary dispute between Colombia and Peru which two years ago provoked an incident at Leticia, a small Colombian city situated on the Amazon River, which was attacked by a group of individuals of Peruvian nationality. The incident created a state of war between Colombia and Peru and was peacefully settled in June, 1934, owing to the efforts of the League of Nations and of a commission of representatives of neutral countries at Rio de Janeiro. Many fundamental principles of international law and relations were involved in the incident at Leticia and especially, the international obligation of a State to respect treaties. The author of this book, Dr. Fabio Lozano, was in 1922, minister of Colombia to Peru and had concluded with Dr. Salomon, Peruvian secretary of state, a treaty settling all questions of boundaries and fluvial navigation between the two countries. Consequently, no opinion could be more authoritative than that of the author on the Colombian interpretation of the meaning and terms of that treaty.

The book is a result of extensive investigation and comparison of available source of information on the historical precedents of the treaty of 1922, on the legal questions involved in its application and on the political causes of the boundary dispute. The work is, in many respects, meticulously done and brings together useful collections of

historical data in a clear form discussing both the Colombian and Peruvian points of view. The author has performed a valuable service in making some documents of the Spanish archives referring to the question for the first time accessible in print; and the book contains a reproduction in facsimile of the royal Spanish cédula dated 1802, which is considered the most important document for a thorough understanding of the period corresponding to the first demarcation of the territories of Colombia and Peru. The cédula refers to the administration of the province of Mainas, where the town of Leticia is situated, and Dr. Lozano points out clearly its ecclesiastical character, while, among Peruvian writers, there is a tendency to consider it as having a juridical basis for the civil sovereignty of the territory.

In the opinion of the author, the treaty of 1922 definitely settled every territorial question between Colombia and Peru, without it being possible for any question of boundaries to arise. However, he admits the opportunity for a new agreement between Colombia and Peru concerning commerce and navigation, in order to facilitate the market of the Peruvian products of western Peru. The volume contains also a careful analysis of the economic interests of Peru in the Amazon provinces.

The reader interested in further research on the subject can avail himself of the very full documentation of the book, as well as the extensive bibliography. There is also an accurate and useful index. The limpid style of the text and its convincing logic are highly commended.

J. C. ROCCA.

Georgetown University.

Balduino Enrico: Asedio de la Ciudad de San Juan de Puerto Rico por la Flota Holandesa. By FERNANDO J. GEIGEL SABAT. (Barcelona: Editorial Araluce, 1934. \$1.25.

This casual but delightful and valuable contribution to history is the fruit of an hour's visit to an old book shop in Barcelona. There the young Puerto Rican lawyer who is its author found "the unexpected book"—*Historie ofte Iaerlijck Verhael Van de Verrichtinghen der Geoctroyeerde jaer seshthienhondert ses-en-dertich* (*The History or Annals of the Deeds of the Privileged West India Company, from its Beginning to the End of the Year 1636*) written by Jan de Laet,

historian of the Company and published in Leyden, by A. Elzevir, 1644.

Finding after due investigation no available translation of this meaty record, Sr. Geigel Sabat proceeded to put into Spanish the account which it gives of Bowdoin Hendrick's siege of San Juan in 1626. It is that translation which we have before us, greatly enriched by additional material. The story of the siege, one of the boldest of innumerable bold attacks on El Morro, then as now one of the most impressive strongholds in the world, is completed by the Spanish official account, matching it day by day, written by Diego Larrasa within the threatened fortress. The little book has also an introductory sketch by Sr. Geigel Sabat, giving the background; reproduces in the appendix relevant material from Fray Iñigo Abbad's history of Puerto Rico; and in addition to contemporary sketches and other illustrations, contains the detailed plan of El Morro made in 1765 by Field Marshal Alexander O'Reilly.

The psychologist and the lay reader as well as the historian will find it interesting to compare points of view of attacker and besieged as revealed in the respective diaries. Both paint for him in swift vivid strokes a picture of that valiant, arrogant Spaniard, Don Juan de Haro, who replies contemptuously to Hendrick's invitation to surrender: "I've spent thirteen years in Flanders and know what a siege ought to be. Go ahead and give me one!" And answers three weeks later (October 21, 1625) to a second demand that he surrender in order to save the town: "If you burn down the town, we have sticks and stones enough in our mountains to build it up again!" Convinced at last that El Morro could never be taken, Hendrick sailed away with as many ships as escaped Spanish cannon.

The hardihood and superior military genius of Haro—who had been governor barely a month at the opening of the siege—probably saved Puerto Rico from becoming a buccaneer stronghold, a second Tortuga, affirms Sr. Geigel Sabat; and gives good reason for his opinion.

MUNA LEE.

University of Puerto Rico.

A History of The Church in Venezuela, 1810-1930. By MARY WATERS. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1933. Pp. ix, 260.)

Because of the intimate relationship which existed between Church and State in the Spanish Indies, the history of the Church constituted a large part of the history of the colonial period. With the winning of independence by the Spanish colonies, the Catholic Church, as an institution and a cult, continued to exert a profound influence on the historical evolution of the Hispanic-American nations. Indeed, failure to account for politico-ecclesiastical relations leaves a large gap in the historical accounts of those states. The present study of the Church in Venezuela, a distinct contribution to the history of Venezuela, should serve to emphasize the need and value of similar works for the other countries. Until the all-important Church problem is thoroughly probed it cannot be said that our Hispanic American historians have satisfactorily treated of their subject.

With respect to the religious question, Venezuela occupies a unique position. It is distinguished from the other Hispanic-American countries by the early and complete collapse of clerical influence. Even in the colonial period, the Church was much weaker and less influential than in the other colonies. There developed in the late eighteenth century a spirit of tolerance and religious indifference owing in part, undoubtedly, to the exposed position of Venezuela to foreign influences.

Since the Church was not a definite issue in the revolution, the struggle for independence left little or no bitterness toward that institution. Yet, in the civil discord which followed, the Church became the object of anti-clerical attack. This culminated in the law of the patronage of 1824, which put the Church under the strict surveillance of the State. This justly famed "civil constitution of the Church" has continued in force unchanged to the present day. Despite numerous political upheavals the *Ley de Patronato* has been as unyielding as the laws of the Medes and the Persians.

After the separation of Venezuela from Great Colombia, the conservative oligarchy (1830-1848) did much to destroy the intellectual influence of the Church with the upper classes. It remained for Guzmán Blanco, by a devastating attack on the Church, to reduce the clergy to ineffectiveness with the masses. He made the Church an object of contempt. Although there have been partial reforms since

Guzmán Blanco, the anti-clerical legislation of the dictator stands with little change. In Venezuela today, there is a pseudo-union of Church and State under the Law of the Patronage, for the anti-clericals regard this as the best means of maintaining surveillance over a Church rendered innocuous.

Dr. Watters has made a distinct contribution to the historical bibliography of Hispanic America. Her handling of a difficult question is critical and unbiased. She appreciates the virtues and the weaknesses of clericals and anti-clericals alike. A case in point is her estimate of Archbishop Méndez, whose true worth was depreciated by nationalistic historians. The care and thoroughness with which the study was prepared is evidenced by a remarkably complete bibliography.

J. LLOYD MECHAM.

The University of Texas.

Modern Hispanic America. Edited by A. CURTIS WILGUS with a Foreword by LLOYD HECK MARVIN. Volume I in *Studies in Hispanic American Affairs*. (Washington, D. C., The George Washington University Press, 1933. Pp. ix, 628.)

It is eminently fitting that the national capitol should have a "Center of Inter-American Studies" and the sponsors of this enterprise at The George Washington University are to be commended for their effort in this direction. This volume, the initial in a series, makes available the bulk of the material presented by a group of specialists in the Hispanic American field before a "Seminar Conference on Hispanic American Affairs" held during the summer-session period at The George Washington University in 1932.

Twenty-three lectures are contained in the volume, setting forth the views of sixteen different lecturers on the current scene in Hispanic America. The first four papers are introductory in character. Following a brief survey by Professor Wilgus, in the opening lecture, of various manifestations of interest in things Hispanic American in this country, three able lectures by Professor Mary Wilhelmine Williams provide an historical background in a survey of the colonial period. The remaining papers range the entire modern field, from an analysis of political life, through discussions of the economic picture, religious, literary, diplomatic, and social affairs, to a terminal summary view of modern civilization to the southward.

In view of the conditions under which the lectures were given, a considerable quantity of the contents of the various papers is, of necessity, not new material, but an interesting exposition of known and, in some cases elementary, fact. For this very reason it should appeal to a wide audience of general readers who would fight shy of the more orderly textbook offerings with their more formidable bibliographical apparatus. Nevertheless, much that breaks new ground in fact, or novel and stimulating point of view appears in these pages, which should justify their acquisition by the more advanced student. Dr. E. Gil Borges, Dr. William R. Manning, W. F. Montavon, and Miss Heloise Brainerd, approaching the problem from outside the strictly academic setting, contribute studies respectively, of continental solidarity, of the attitude of the United States toward the insurgent Spanish colonies, of religious life in modern Hispanic America, and of modern education in the same area. Dr. James A. Robertson, the editor of the *REVIEW*, draws on his wide knowledge and acquaintance with men and literature within the field for a discerning essay on intellectual coöperation between the Americas.

It is perhaps invidious to single out certain lectures for comment, but since they are so numerous the reviewer has little choice in the matter, as a mere listing would be unsatisfactory. In what might be termed the academic group of lectures, the two delivered by Professor C. K. Jones on modern Hispanic American Literary development gathers together the main movements in an admirable synthesis. Professor C. F. Jones compresses the salient features of Caribbean and South American economic problems into two clear, if highly selective, lectures. Professor J. Fred Rippy makes a plea for further research in European relationships with Hispanic America, using the European archives, in one lecture, and illustrates his point in another which draws on British materials to show the interrelation of British bondholders' interest, as revealed in the reports of the Council of the Foreign Bondholders, and the Roosevelt corollary of the Monroe Doctrine. The lectures of Professor Tansill, on the European background of the Monroe Doctrine, of Professor Nichols, on Guano diplomacy, and of Professor Clevon, on modern political life, are cast in article form with citations, footnotes, and liberal quotation, and probably represent revision from the original less formal lecture presentation. The generalizations of Professor Sears are too general and too casual to warrant inclusion in this volume in the opinion of the reviewer.

It is to be regretted that all the papers included were not compelled to conform to some one editorial standard in that, as printed, they vary from the corrected stenographic reports of lectures, subsequently reviewed by the lecturer, to the carefully composed articles noted above. While the closely knit lecture form lends itself to classroom interest and can be perused with greater ease from the general reader point of view, it decreases the permanent value of the offering and leaves an impression of journalistic ephemeralism in the serious reader. However, as first fruits of a pioneering attempt the volume is distinctly worth while, and subsequent publications can be improved by a requirement that the written lectures be submitted in some standard form to the director of the seminar before they are delivered. There are some minor slips in editing and proofreading. The volume has an index.

ARTHUR S. AITON.

University of Michigan.

The Disaster of Darien: the Story of the Scots Settlement and the Causes of its Failure, 1699-1701. By FRANCIS RUSSELL HART, F. R. G. S. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1929. Pp. xi, 433. \$5.00.)

The Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies. By GEORGE PRATT INSH, M.A., D.Litt., F. E. I. S. (London and New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932. Pp. 343. \$4.00.)

The Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies, or the Darien Company as it later came to be designated, is not a topic new to investigators: the venture in its several phases has been recounted in many forms. Yet the author of each of these books gives justifiable motives for further exploration of the subject: Mr. Hart, that he has drawn upon unused Spanish sources, largely but not wholly found in the Archives of the Indies at Seville, for a better understanding of Spanish opposition to the Caledonia settlement; Dr. Insh, that now for the first time it is possible to weave into a definitive study the accumulation of a large amount of fresh and significant source material which has been made available within the last decade. Among the important sections of such material Dr. Insh mentions Mr. Hart's volume, his own studies, and the unbound miscellaneous papers of the company.

The treatment by Mr. Hart is more particularly concerned with the colonizing activities on the Isthmus of Darien. The first three chapters (56 pages in all) are devoted, by way of introduction, to a general account of the company and its preparations for the first expedition. The author adds nothing new to this portion of the story. But in the succeeding chapters he has used his Spanish material to throw much additional light upon the expeditions and especially upon the activities of the Spaniards in opposing the settlement. Here a distinct contribution has been made to the subject. The violent opposition to the company which arose in England came mostly from existing trading monopolies whose agents protested that the continuance of the Scottish enterprize would result in the loss of the colonial trade and render the acts of navigation useless. This phase of the controversy needed no further development. But fear of complications with the Spaniards who claimed the territory to be occupied by the Scots was also expressed. Too little emphasis has heretofore been placed on this motive of opposition to the company. Mr. Hart's closing chapters review the causes which contributed to the failure of the colony and the circumstances attending the dissolution of the company. The appendix, covering over half of the volume (pp. 181-426), prints 33 documents, 19 of which originate in the Archives of the Indies.

Dr. Insh, who has long been regarded as an outstanding authority on the subject, has produced what will probably remain the most frequently cited history of the company. In his narrative, which is told in a sprightly, entertaining style, he has used a wealth of primary and secondary sources; to make the study as complete as possible he has incorporated in his account passages from his earlier well-known works. His volume is divided into a prologue, three books with the scenes set respectively in Europe, America, and Africa and the Indies; an epilogue, and an appendix containing documents relating to the voyage of the *Content* and *Speedy Return* from Glasgow to Madagascar in 1701. Both volumes are illustrated and indexed.

The long proceedings in the parliaments of England and Scotland relating to the Darien Company are related in the second and third volumes of the parliamentary reports being issued by Carnegie Institution of Washington.¹ No reference to this work is made in either

¹ *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments respecting North America*. Edited by Leo Frances Stock.—Ed.

of the books under review. Certainly its editor could greatly have enlarged and improved his annotations of these items had he then at his disposal the findings of Mr. Hart and Dr. Insh.

LEO F. STOCK.

Carnegie Institution of Washington.

The Two Americas: An Interpretation. By STEPHEN DUGGAN. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934. Pp. xx, 277. Index. \$1.75.)

An imposing list of "outstanding authorities in the field of Latin American relations" given in the Preface to this interpretation of the two Americas should favorably introduce this little book to the American reading public; and while this list may disarm the critic, the reviewer must, however, make certain comments which a careful reading of the book suggest.

The author's personal observations on a familiar subject would be worth while and readable. This book is. It is, however, more the performance of the pleasing platformist than the reasoned presentation of a documented book. In this sense, and in this sense alone, it is disappointing. The ambitious title of the book in comparison with the treatment within its covers compels me to make this criticism. The author may have had a similar thought back of his apologetic line "To the making of books there is no end." Therein he himself seems to question the need of a book of this character, as all writers must and do on the eve of putting to print their personal reminiscences and observations.

Dr. Duggan's purpose is, however, laudable, and his performance will be most welcome to a large sector of the reading public. He has written his book, somewhat hastily, perhaps, for a subject that suggests more serious treatment, with the idea or desire of service in creating sympathetic understanding between the peoples of the Americas. In that sense the book is not at all disappointing. Many similar books have been written to that end, and many more will be. Few, however, have and will have the sincerity of purpose and the success of performance to be expected in a book by one of the training and travel experience of Dr. Duggan.

There are only seven chapters in the book. In these chapters the author deals with the backgrounds and resultant civilizations of the two Americas; with their social institutions and economic transformation; with problems in our Hispanic-American relations; and with

Pan Americanism and anti-Americanism. The chapters on social institutions, especially on the school, and on inter-American relations are easily the best. The author is here more sure of his observations which are accordingly more enlightening and convincing. For the general reader, unfamiliar with contributing forces to the life and culture of either America, or of both, the chapter on backgrounds is too cursory; too impressionistic and incomplete the chapter on economic transformation. The author's pages, however, on "Latin America, the United States, and the League of Nations" may well be called a journalistic classic.

Obviously, any book with the sub-title "An Interpretation" will contain much that is controversial. The author's opinions are rarely obtrusively offending but they are sometimes misleading, especially when the opinion in another setting seems to contradict a previous statement. If the author is seemingly contradictory here, or even superficial, it is due to the treatment that this type of book requires. His observations in regard to the Church, to government by revolution, and to the student movement are in the main those of most cultured travelers in Hispanic America. Owing, doubtless, also to scope and not to desire the book lacks balance in treatment of subject matter, although the author's sympathies and understanding are evidently with the temperate climate countries of South America. Furthermore, his treatment of a favored Hispanic America leaves the reader at times with an impression of the forces and leaders in Anglo-Saxon American life that are not historically fair. His seeming sympathy with current social philosophy may be responsible for some of these opinions in regard to the United States. Some of these all too brief opinions—only a phrase long sometimes—have no place in a book that would give a true picture of the real United States to the Hispanic Americans of today. Their expression can only thwart the purpose this book would serve.

GLEN LEVIN SWIGGETT.

Washington, D. C.

NOTES AND COMMENT

PICHARDO'S TREATISE AND THE ADAMS-ONÍS TREATY

Professor Hackett's publication of *Pichardo's treatise on the limits of Louisiana and Texas*¹ and his able introductory explanation of its genesis, raise a natural question as to the use of that work after its completion in 1812. Its purpose as stated in the title was to disprove the claim of the United States that Texas was a part of the Louisiana purchase of 1803. Without a specific disavowal of that claim, the United States relinquished it in the Adams-Onís treaty of 1819 (often erroneously termed "the Florida treaty"). One may well ask if Pichardo's disproof affected the issue. A study of that negotiation² now makes it possible to trace the treatise into the hands of the Spanish officials who directed the conversations, and at least part of its accompanying documents into the hands of Don Luis de Onís, the Spanish minister at Washington who signed the treaty.

It will be remembered that the decision quieted the controversies of a quarter century by providing the cession of the Floridas to the United States, the definition of the western boundary of the Louisiana purchase, and the relinquishment of Spain's title to Oregon. Professor Hackett explains how the Spanish government, immediately after the Louisiana procurement, instructed first, Fray Melchor de Talamantes, and later, Padre José Antonio Pichardo to study the boundary. After years of labor, the voluminous treatise was submitted to the viceroy of Mexico.

Evidence regarding its disposition, as well as of its magnitude, appears in a letter of the viceroy, Felix Calleja, to the Spanish secretary of state, dated at Mexico City, March 15, 1813:

¹ Charles Wilson Hackett, ed., *Pichardo's Treatise on the Limits of Louisiana and Texas*, I. Austin, 1931. [The second volume of this work has just appeared—1934.—Ed.]

² Philip C. Brooks, "The Adams-Onís treaty of 1819 as a territorial agreement", MS. (Ph.D. thesis, 1933) in University of California Library.

Your Excellency:

Having received the royal order which your Excellency was pleased to communicate to me on the 6th of last October, relative to the dispatch of the *expediente* on propositions of the Anglo-American cabinet in the fixation of the limits of Louisiana and of the summary which the presbyter, Don José Pichardo, prepared, I ordered a report to be given me of the condition of this matter. Since it is seen therefrom that, on request of the fiscals, the certified copy of the sworn statement to inform his Majesty of what has been done in observance of the royal order of the 20th of May of 1805 is ready; and that of the five thousand one hundred and twenty seven sheets which constitute the original [of Pichardo's report?],³ one thousand nine hundred and sixty nine are already copied, leaving in consequence thereof three thousand one hundred and fifty eight [still to be copied], I have ordered it finished with the greatest possible dispatch, in order that it may be sent to the supreme ministry. In reply I advise your Excellency of this for your information.

May God preserve your Excellency, etc.

FELIX CALLEJA.⁴

The 3,158 sheets of copying occupied more than three years, as is indicated by a later communication of the same viceroy dated at Mexico City, September 30, 1816, to the Spanish secretary of state:

Your Excellency:

Marked with the number of this letter I am sending to your Excellency two large boxes containing thirty one small folio volumes, bound in red sheepskin, the work prescribed by the royal order of the 20th of May of 1805, transmitted by your excellency, to be used in the demarcation of limits between the Province of Louisiana and the possessions of his Majesty, especially in the region of Texas and the adjacent coast.

I send only one copy, as its extent necessitates much time and no little expense to the royal treasury in making the duplicate, at a time when the treasury is exhausted and hard pressed. For this reason I have ordered that the [report] be conveyed with the greatest care and all possible security.

The maps which are attached to the original are lacking, because, although he has them well advanced, Don Gonzalo Lopez de Haro, *teniente de navio y ayudante de director de pilotos del departamento de Cadiz*, the only person qualified for the task in this realm, has not been able to complete them on account

³ This figure probably includes certain other papers than the treatise alone, as indicated in Pichardo to *Los Señores Fiscales*, Mexico, February 19, 1812; Library of Congress transcripts, *Archivo General de la Nación, Historia*, vol. 542. Hackett, *op. cit.*, quoting Medina, gives (p. xviii) the length of the work as 3,000 pages; Herbert E. Bolton (*Guide to Materials for the History of the United States in the Principal Archives of Mexico*, Washington, 1913, p. 236) gives the pagination as 4,000.

⁴ Calleja to the secretary of state, Mexico, March 15, 1813 (*Archivo General de Indias, Estado, Legajo 31*).

of illness; but as he has been strictly charged to complete them very soon, which he has promised to effect, they will be sent to you in due time with the certified copy of the *expediente* which has accumulated in the matter and is being drawn up: all of which I hope your Excellency will bring to the royal attention of his Majesty.

May God preserve your Excellency, [etc.].

FELIX CALLEJA.*

The date of the original order, the subject matter, and the number of volumes indicate the identity of the work described, though Pichardo's name is omitted. In the margin of the letter is a summary of its contents, which shows that the copy of the treatise was sent, the original evidently remaining in Mexico.

Other cryptic marginal annotations, the secretary's instructions to his aides, give interesting information as to the next step in the travels of Pichardo's masterpiece:

Send this and a copy [to], or have it at the disposal of, Señores Anduaga, Cabanes, and Heredia. To the viceroy an acknowledgement and that we await the maps. [*In another hand:*] Done. 24 May [1817]

The names mentioned were those of three officials, or undersecretaries, of the state department. Anduaga had some interest in American affairs, and later became minister of Spain at Washington. But our interest lies at present chiefly with Narciso de Heredia, the official especially charged with the handling of affairs concerning the United States, who wrote (by admission of the great secretary of state, José García de León y Pizarro⁶) most of the many instructions sent to Onís.

Three weeks after the acknowledgement of the report's receipt, Heredia produced his greatest single document, a long exposition upon the issues in controversy, suggesting the alternatives of policy on which the Spanish procedure in the negotiation was from then on based. In it he specifically mentioned the treatise in unmistakable terms—though again the Mexican priest's name was not cited.

Heredia points out that Onís had not originally been instructed to undertake the negotiation of the treaty at Washington, and that since the affair had been transferred to that capital, sufficient documents had not been sent there to enable him easily to support his contentions.

* Calleja to the secretary of state, Mexico, September 30, 1816 (Archivo General de Indias, *loc. cit.*).

⁶ José García de León y Pizarro, *Memorias* (Madrid, 1894-1897), II. 92-93; III. 298.

Heredia thought the negotiation of the treaty in Washington instead of Madrid unwise, and as one reason stated:

The great accumulation of documents which your Majesty possesses for the discussion of western limits is all in the ministry of state, or in the archivo de Indias at Seville; and it is not possible to ship them [to Washington], even less to copy them, which would be a very long process, inasmuch as those which have just been received from Mexico, in accordance with the request which was made at the order of the august father of your Majesty [Charles IV.] in 1805, alone have come in thirty-one folio volumes.⁷

For this study it is fortunate that Heredia used this illustration of the extent of the materials, for the description coincides neatly with that of the Pichardo treatise in Viceroy Calleja's letters cited above.

Pichardo's confusion on the names of the Texas rivers, illustrated in his map⁸ and discussed by Professor Hackett⁹ may well have contributed to the misunderstanding between the negotiating officials, which on one occasion gave Onís reason to delay matters several months by referring back to Madrid for information. The United States had long before offered to accept the Colorado River as a boundary. Onís, in 1818, asserted that it had always been the Spanish belief that the offer referred to the Red, or "Colorado", River of Natchitoches,¹⁰ and indeed the summer before Heredia and Pizarro had spoken of the Red as the Colorado, rather than employing the latter term for the river flowing into Matagorda Bay.¹¹

If, as it appears, one can accept the identifications cited so far as tracing the Pichardo treatise into the hands of Heredia, the process can be carried a step farther by a study of the instructions sent to Onís. Heredia in his *exposición* of 1817 had regretted that the documents supporting Spain's title to Texas could not be sent to Washington. That his disappointment was not to be complete is seen in the sending of a large collection of selected papers from Madrid in the summer of 1818, by a special messenger, Francisco Martínez Pizarro,

⁷ Narciso de Heredia, "Exposición hecha al Rey . . . sobre nuestras relaciones . . . con el Gobierno de los Estados Unidos de America", June 4, 1817 (in Pizarro, *Memorias*, III. 272).

⁸ José Antonio de Pichardo, "Mapa levantado para la demarcación de los limites . . ." (in Hackett, *op. cit.*, p. 474).

⁹ Hackett, *op. cit.*, pp. xix, and 460-543, footnotes, *passim*.

¹⁰ Onís to Adams, January 24, 1818 (*American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, IV. 464-466); Adams to George W. Erving, April 20, 1818 (U. S. Department of State Archives, "U. S. Ministers, Instructions", VIII. 178-180).

¹¹ Heredia, "Exposición . . ." (in Pizarro, *op. cit.*, III. 287, 291).

who also bore revised instructions for the minister. A letter of July 15 lists nine sets of manuscripts chosen from the Archives of the Indies at Sevilla, and one dated July 19 (carried by the same messenger) adds the following:

Although as I have said to you on the 15th of this month I shall be sending you from time to time copies and extracts of what I consider useful from the great accumulation of papers which have come from Mexico in accordance with the orders and instructions which this ministry sent to the viceroy in 1805: I have felt obliged to send you in advance at once the attached extract from volume 29 of said notes and documents from Mexico as this volume is one of the most interesting, containing the royal cédulas existing in the archives of that viceroyalty which have any connection with the matter of limits and which embrace a period which begins in 1678 and ends in 1790. I shall do the same with the remaining volumes, as rapidly as the laborious task proceeds of selecting the useful statements which are mixed therein with many inconsequential ones; which is the more troublesome because of the fact that none of the thirty-one volumes in the collection has an index.¹²

Martínez Pizarro delivered his messages and documents at Onís's summer home in Bristol, Pennsylvania, on October 3, 1818.¹³ The minister soon went to Washington to begin the final series of conferences leading to the treaty signature of February 22, 1819. He submitted a new set of proposals to Adams on October 24, and was answered with what Adams called his final offer seven days later. Both these documents included the plan to set the Texas-Louisiana boundary at the Sabine River, and that phase of the controversies may be considered to have been settled then. Texas was to remain in Spanish possession, as Pichardo said it should.

What new information Onís derived from the extract of the documents from Mexico could hardly have been of much influence that late in the negotiation. But he used the receipt of the papers, which he said gave incontestible proof of his contentions, as the occasion for his note of October 24, and offered to produce them in conference.¹⁴

¹² Pizarro to Onís, July 19, 1818 (Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, Estado, Legajo 5643). The cédulas appear to have been in the documents accompanying the treatise. Such a collection had been outlined by Talamantes in 1807. Talamantes, "Plan de la obra . . .", part 4 (Library of Congress transcripts, Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico, Historia, vol. 541); also Hackett, *op. cit.*, p. xvi.

¹³ Onís to Pizarro, October 7, 1818 (Archivo Histórico Nacional, Estado, Legajo 5644).

¹⁴ Onís to Adams, October 24, 1818 (*American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, IV. 526-529).

Adams declined to enter into further discussion of the merits of the case or to see the documents.¹⁵

Nevertheless, Pichardo's information appears to have been of use to Heredia in the preparation of his great state paper in 1817, and it is interesting to know that it actually did serve for the purpose originally causing its production.

With the independence of Mexico in 1821 that new republic assumed the obligations of Spain, and lived up to them as far as the boundary was concerned. Pichardo's treatise saw further use, however, in the affairs connected with the treaty of 1828, confirming the limits defined in the Adams-Onís treaty.¹⁶

PHILIP COOLIDGE BROOKS.

Washington, D. C.

BERNAL DIAZ DEL CASTILLO DIED IN 1584

There has been considerable confusion among historians of Spanish-America in regard to the date of the death of the great chronicler of the conquest. In the new and excellent edition of the *True History of the Conquest of New Spain*, recently published by the Sociedad de Geografía e Historia of Guatemala,¹ Eduardo Mayora, author of the *Prólogo* to the first volume, shows that various writers have placed the date anywhere from 1568 to 1582. Mayora inclines to the latter date, as a recently discovered document bears the signature of Bernal Díaz with the date of August 18, 1580. Mayora further states (p. xi) that Bernal Díaz, in the declining years of his life, enjoyed the distinction of *regidor honorífico* of the cabildo de Guatemala.

Acting on the above hint during my recent visit to Antigua, Guatemala, I perused the *Actas del Cabildo* and found, indeed, that Bernal Díaz had been elected yearly to the cabildo from 1553 (the earliest volume of the *Actas* now extant) to 1584, and that subsequent to this latter date there is no mention of him whatever. His last signature is in the *acta* of January 1, 1583, and is that of a palsied

¹⁵ Adams to Onís, October 31, 1818 (*American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, IV. 530-531).

¹⁶ Bolton, *op. cit.*, pp. 234-236.

¹ Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Verdadera y notable Relación del Descubrimiento y Conquista de la Nueva España y Guatemala*. [Biblioteca "Goathemala", vols. X-XI.] Guatemala, 1933-1934.

old man. Possibly it is the last time he signed his name for, two days later, the *acta* of January 3 bears the legend: "por Bernal Díaz, Juan de Torres". But the old conquistador was not yet defeated. He was elected again, and for the last time, to the cabildo on January 1, 1584, and his name appears no more in the *actas*. I conclude, therefore, that his death occurred between January 1, 1584, and the end of that same year.

LESLEY BYRD SIMPSON.

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EL INSTITUTO SANMARTINIANO

In recent years the number of associations and other entities devoted to the study of the lives and activities of the protagonists of Hispanic American independence has grown enormously. Especially has this been true of Venezuela where the admiration of Bolívar has become almost a national cult. San Martín on the other hand has suffered a relative and unmerited neglect. But during the past two years, the great Argentine hero has nobly come into his own. On April 5, 1933, the anniversary of the Battle of Maipú, was solemnly inaugurated "El Instituto Sanmartiniano" dedicated, according to the founding act to "la enseñanza y a la glorificación permanente y metódica de la personalidad del Libertador Don José de San Martín". The sponsor of the movement and the president of this association is quite appropriately Dr. José Pacífico Otero, the author of the scholarly four volume work on San Martín, to which reference has already been made in this REVIEW. In addition to the officers of the Instituto there are twelve "vocales" and thirty "miembros de número", including a goodly number of eminent historians and high patents in the army and navy. Provision is also made for a certain number of corresponding and honorary members.

In April, 1934, the Instituto issued a *Memoria*, describing its activities during the first year of its existence. These included an "Homenaje a San Martín", and "Homenaje a Mitre", the initiation of a campaign for a paved highway between Buenos Aires and Cuyo to be known as "El Camino del Libertador", and the creation by executive decree of a "Día de San Martín" during which suitable exercises were held including absolute silence for the period of five

minutes. The "Day" celebrated was August 17, the anniversary of the death of the hero. There was also held on September 7 a notable iconographic exposition of San Martín which aroused immense interest. Public lectures dealing with various phases of the life of San Martín were held. Plans were laid for the erection of an imposing monument to San Martín on the coast of the Atlantic at Mar del Plata.

During the first year of its existence the Instituto has published a number of articles including "Mitre en el concepto sanmartiniano", as well as an elaborately illustrated book entitled *Exposición iconográfica del Libertador José de San Martín*. Arrangements are being made for the foundation of a library to be attached to the Instituto and for the publication of a review as soon as economic conditions will permit. In its laudable efforts to further the study of Argentina's greatest national figure the Instituto deserves every encouragement.

PERCY ALVIN MARTIN.

Stanford University.

The Twenty-sixth Session of International Congress of Americanists will meet in Seville in April, 1935, under the patronage of the government of the Spanish Republic. While in the past the programs of this learned body have tended to stress archaeology, linguistics, and anthropology the coming session will be of particular and immediate interest to students of Hispanic American history. The special theme which will be discussed in the plenary session of the congress is entitled: "El problema del descubrimiento de América desde el punto de vista de la valoración de sus fuentes". The organizing committee also proposes for discussion the following five themes:

1. El Individuo y el Estado en las primeras expediciones del descubrimiento, conquista y colonización de la América española.
2. Tipos de ciudades en la América española del período colonial y función política y social del Municipio hispano-americano.
3. La condición jurídica y social de los indios en la América española a lo largo del período colonial.
4. Valoración crítica de la labor científica realizada por el Consejo Supremo de Indias y por la Casa de la Contratación de Sevilla en orden a los conocimientos geográficos de la América española.
5. Arqueología, Etnografía u Filología precolombianas: problemas fundamentales en el estado actual de estas ciencias.

In connection with the congress will be held an Exposición de Cartografía Americana under the charge of a committee whose chairman is the eminent historian, Professor Angel de Altolaguirre. The general organizing committee is a strong one. It includes such well-known scholars as Dr. Gregorio Marañón, president of the Sociedad Geográfica, Sr. José María Ots, director of the Centro de Estudios de Historia de América de la Universidad de Sevilla, and the well-known historian Professor Antonio Ballesteros. The address of the general secretary, Sr. José María Torroja, is Calle del León, 21, Madrid—P. A. M.

On February 10, 1936, the eminent Spanish historian, Professor Rafael Altamira will attain his seventieth year after forty-eight years of service in the field of public instruction. A group of his colleagues and former Spanish students plans to present to him a memorial volume consisting of articles dealing with the various branches of studies so successfully cultivated by Professor Altamira. The volume will fall into four divisions, namely, "Historia y metodología histórica", "Ciencias jurídicas", "Pedagogía y cuestiones pacifistas", "Crítica e historia de literaturas modernas". The edition of this important work will be limited to five hundred and thirty copies. Advance orders may be sent to the secretary, Sr. Ladelino Moreno, Santa Engracia, 105, Madrid.—P. A. M.

The Turkish map of Piri-Reis, to which reference has already been made in this REVIEW, is the subject of a monographic study by the German scholar Paul Kahle, *Die verschollene Culumbus-Karte von 1498 in einer türkischen Weltkarte von 1913* (Berlin and Leipzig, Walter de Gruyter, 1933). It would appear that a map of the world, the work of the Turkish geographer and sailor Piri-Reis, was offered in 1517 to Sultan Selim I. who was in Cairo. A portion of this map, which shows the eastern part of the Atlantic ocean and the section of the American continent which had just been discovered, was recently located in the former palace of the sultan in Constantinople. According to Herr Kahle this map-fragment is of extraordinary importance as it is based on the map which Columbus himself sent from Hispaniola to Ferdinand and Isabella in 1498. The original of this map disappeared but not before a number of copies were made, one of which apparently fell into the hands of the Turks around the year

1501. And on the basis of this copy Piri-Reis drew certain outlines of the American Indies as they appear in Columbus's original map of 1498.—P. A. M.

With commendable initiative, the Portuguese government has just opened at Oporto (autumn of 1934) the first Portuguese Colonial Exposition ever held. In the "Grand Hall of the Colonies" has been assembled a valuable historical exhibit consisting for the most part of documents extracted from the *Arquivo da Marinha e Ultramar* of Lisbon. A large proportion deals with the discovery and conquest of Portuguese America and the civilization of colonial Brazil. It is hoped that the more pertinent of these documents will be published.—P. A. M.

A handsome new monthly devoted to the West Indies has been established in Jamaica under the title, *The West Indian Review*. The editor, Mrs. F. Chapman, under her own name, Esther Hyman, is a novelist and critic, and a contributor to British and North American reviews. *The West Indian Review* announces its purpose to serve as a medium of expression and a bond of union of various units—the republics and the United States, British, French, and Dutch colonies—of the Caribbean. "Every article to be written", says the editor, every picture taken, every block made, all printing done within the West Indies, by people who are themselves West Indian or who have chosen to identify themselves, with these parts.

The address is 71, Harbour Street, Kingston, Jamaica. The magazine is serializing "The Present State of the Spanish Colonies", by William Walton, Jr., published in 1810. Other contributions deal with the geography, history, and industries of the West Indies; with local conditions, interrelationships, and overseas relations.—MUNA LEE.

The University of Puerto Rico in Río Piedras, Puerto Rico, has recently established a separate institute within the general academic organization, to be known as the Instituto Ibero-Americano. The objects of the new organization are the collection of materials on Hispanic America, the formation of a library, and the stimulation of interest and enthusiasm among the students and public in Hispanic American affairs; and it is hoped that it will serve as a center for the exchange of thought concerning the peoples and nations of the new

world. The Instituto, in view of the lack of adequate and suitable library sources has undertaken to communicate with a number of the leading personalities and organizations of the United States, Europe, and Hispanic America, urging their support and contributions toward the establishment of this center. Correspondence of all kinds relative to Hispanic America will be appreciated. Communications should be addressed to Professor Richard Pattee, Instituto Ibero-Americano, University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras, Puerto Rico, West Indies.—R. P.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

SOME STUDIES IN PROGRESS IN SPAIN ON HISPANIC AMERICAN COLONIAL HISTORY¹

Students of Hispanic American colonial history are severely handicapped for want of a regular and timely bibliography of current historical productions. Nothing is available comparable to the excellent bibliographies for other fields of study appearing periodically in *Isis*, the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, the *New England Quarterly*, the *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, or the *Journal of the Société des Américanistes de Paris*.² Of course, valuable articles appear from time to time such as those by Robert Ricard,³ Ots, and Altamira,⁴

¹ The notes upon which this article is based were collected during a residence of twenty months in Spain from September 1932 to April 1934. During the first year the writer held the Amherst Memorial fellowship and the second year the Archibald Coolidge fellowship from Harvard University.

² Curiously enough, this REVIEW does not exist so far as the editors of the *Journal* are concerned. Their bibliographical section on Hispanic American history is probably the most complete one regularly published, even listing articles appearing in minor reviews in the United States. Yet none of the articles in this REVIEW are listed.

³ "Les Espagnols et l'Amérique, au XVI^e Siècle. Quelques Notes bibliographiques", *Revue d'histoire Moderne*, IV. (1929), 454-458; "La Période coloniale de l'Histoire du Mexique d'après les Publications récentes", *Revue Historique*, CLXIX. (May-June, 1932), 604-614; "Quelques Publications récentes sur le Mexique", *Revue d'Amérique Latine* (August, 1931), 163-168. Ricard is the author of *La "Conquête spirituelle" du Mexique* (Paris, 1933), probably the most significant work written in the French language on Hispanic America since George Scelle's *La Traite Négrière aux Indes de Castille* (Paris, 1906).

⁴ Rafael Altamira has collaborated with his former student José María Ots Capdequí to produce a very useful *Bibliografie des Études sur l'Histoire coloniale provenant d'Auteurs Espagnols ou publiés en Espagne, 1900-1931* (Paris, 1932). This too little known work provides a remarkably complete list of monographs, articles, and new editions and includes as well a list of theses undertaken by Altamira's students at the University of Madrid during the last twenty years. The *Bibliographie* was originally published as a part of a *Bibliographie d'Histoire coloniale* (Paris, 1932) which also contains an article on the bibliography of colonial Chile by Agustín Edwards and another on the Portuguese colonies by Carlos Roma Machado. These chapters may be obtained separately from the publisher.

Ernest G. Jacob,⁵ Lucien Lefebvre,⁶ and by numerous contributors to this REVIEW. Yet despite valiant efforts now being made by various historical journals here and abroad, it cannot be said that any one has succeeded in regularly listing all the important materials.⁷

* "Aus der ibero-amerikanischen Kulturwelt", *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, XXIII Band, 3. Heft (1933) 415-432.

* "Un Champ privilégié d'Études, l'Amérique du Sud", *Annales d'Histoire économique et sociale*, I. (April, 1929), 258-278. A useful article on recent works on geography and economics. For recent mission literature, see O. Maas, "Spanische Missionsliteratur in letzten Dezennium", *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, 21 (1931), 361-369.

⁷ The *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos* made a brave attempt during its short but fruitful life. The quarterly review which has just been launched in Madrid, the *Anales de la Asociación Española para el Progreso de las Ciencias*, includes a section which will be devoted to describing current productions in all fields of history by Spanish workers. It will probably contain many references to the history of Spain in America.

No one should neglect the bibliographical lists appearing regularly in the *Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas*, the *Revista de Filología Española*, or the remarkable but little known "Bibliografía Hispánica de Ciencias histórico eclesiásticas" published yearly in the *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* of Barcelona. Started in 1928 by Josep Vives, the bibliography has improved markedly year by year. Another recently founded journal, the *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu*, included a long bibliography in its first volume (Rome, 1932), pp. 338-379. Regular lists have since appeared each year of works concerning Jesuit history.

The frequent appearance in this REVIEW of notes on the important work being carried on by the *Instituto Hispano-Cubano de Historia de América* in Sevilla makes it unnecessary to describe its activities here. See also the article in this REVIEW, vol. XIV, 244-247 (May, 1934) by P. A. Martin entitled "El Centro de Estudios de Historia de América en la Universidad de Sevilla".

In addition to the important work being carried on by Professor José María Ots Capdequí (Technical Director of the Centro) and his assistants in connection with their new edition of the *Recopilación*, the following lecture courses were offered by the Centro during the academic year 1933-1934:

1. Valoración crítica de las fuentes sobre las que descansa todo cuanto sabemos acerca del proceso mental del descubrimiento de América por Cristóbal Colón. By Professor Rómulo D. Carbia of the universities of Buenos Aires and La Plata.
2. Las ideas geográficas de la antigüedad y de la edad media en los descubrimientos oceánicos. By Don Carlos Pereyra.
3. Castilla en la baja edad media. By Professor José Antonio Rubio Sacristán, of the University of Seville.
4. El derecho privado Hispano-Americano del período colonial. By Professor José María Ots Capdequí.

Even more difficult than the attempt to keep abreast of recent publications is the problem of discovering what studies are in progress abroad. No general list exists of theses in progress at Spanish universities and other institutions of learning.⁸ The account of studies on Hispanic American colonial history here submitted is based upon information gained through contacts with friars, professors, archivists, and other students. It does not pretend to be complete.

Inasmuch as our knowledge of the discovery, conquest, and colonization of America depends to a considerable extent upon the progress made in the study of the ideas and institutions of sixteenth century Spain, the news that Fernando de los Ríos is working on a volume to be entitled "El sentido político de España en el siglo XVI" is distinctly good news. Señor de los Ríos, one of Spain's foremost present day philosophers and educators,⁹ first applied his special knowledge to the history of America in the brief but stimulating paper he delivered in 1926 at Harvard University before the Sixth International Congress of Philosophy on "The religious character of colonial

5. Instituciones de derecho público de la América española durante el período colonial. By Professor C. H. Haring of Harvard University.

* If Professor Antonio Ballesteros would publish a list of theses worked up under his direction at the University of Madrid, there would be available for Spain information which would roughly approximate that supplied by the Pan American Union in its *Theses on Pan American Topics* (Washington, D. C., 1933) for the United States. The majority of Spanish students who publish articles or books on American history have obtained their training under Altamira or Ballesteros. The problem of making these theses available for use remains unsolved. Dr. Javier Lasso de la Vega, the energetic director of the libraries of the University of Madrid, hopes to accomplish this feat within two or three years. That this question is not entirely solved even in the United States may be seen from the discussion of the "Problem of making doctoral theses generally available to institutions of learning", *Journal of Proceedings of the thirty-fourth annual Conference of the Association of American Universities*, p. 33 (Chicago, 1932). The *Anales de la Universidad de Madrid. Sección de letras* sometimes publishes abstracts of theses among which may be found a few on Spanish colonial history. For example, the thesis by Abel Romero Castillo entitled "Los gobernadores de Guayaquil del siglo XVIII" was described in the *Anales (Sección de letras)* for 1932, pp. 110-111. That the need has been felt for coördination of effort in the field—especially in the study of American archeology in Spain—may be seen from the article by Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois "El problema del americanismo en España". *Ibid.*, II. (1933), 232-237.

⁹ Also professor in the Faculty of Law of the University of Madrid, minister of public instruction during Azaña's régime 1931-1933, and now member of the *cortes*.

law in sixteenth century Spain".¹⁰ Subsequently he published another short but likewise valuable article "El anhelo universalista en los teólogos españoles del siglo XVI".¹¹ The book now in progress has grown out of these studies and the lectures he has delivered at various English universities during the past few years.

The growing interest in the Spanish origin of international law has resulted in the formation of an "Asociación de Francisco de Vitoria" the publication plans of which include items of considerable interest for students of the legal history of the new world. It plans to present next year "De insulis oceanis", one of the earliest treatises extant concerning the right of the king of Spain to the Indies, written about 1512 by Juan Lopez Palacios Rubios.¹² The manuscript was unearthed a short while ago by Professor Eloy Bullón of the University of Madrid who will supply the introduction and notes.¹³ The author was an important jurist employed by King Ferdinand and was a member of the embryo Council of the Indies which in 1512 formulated the Laws of Burgos. The *Asociación de Francisco de Vitoria* has also announced an ambitious program of future publications¹⁴ and edits an *Anuario* which frequently contains useful historical material.

¹⁰ Printed in *Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Philosophy*, 1926, pp. 481-485. His *Religión y Estado en la España del Siglo XVI* (New York, 1927) is an elaboration of the same theme.

¹¹ *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos*, I. (1928) 125-132.

¹² The legal questions precipitated by the discovery of America are receiving much attention now in Spain. It should be noted that even before Palacios Rubios, the problem of the right of Spain to the Indies was discussed by the Scottish theologian John Major. The Spanish Jesuit, Pedro Leturia, gives an excellent account of Major's theories in "Maior y Vitoria ante la conquista de America", *Estudios Eclesiásticos*, Año XL (January, 1932), 44-82. An important treatise written about the time Palacios Rubios composed "De Insulis Oceanis", the "De Dominio Regum" by Matías de Paz O.P., was discovered recently and has been published by the Dominican historian, Vicente Beltrán de Heredia, in *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, III. (Rome, 1933).

¹³ Bullón had previously published a biography, *Un Colaborador de los Reyes Católicos: El Doctor Palacios Rubios y sus Obras* (Madrid, 1927). He presented a brief description of the manuscript treatise in a lecture delivered before the University of Salamanca and subsequently printed it privately as a pamphlet entitled *El Problema jurídico de la Dominación Española en América antes de las Relecciones de Francisco de Vitoria* (Madrid, 1933).

¹⁴ The *Asociación* has already published some of the works of Vitoria and a life of Vitoria by Fr. Luis G. Alonso Getino O.P. (Madrid, 1930), and an-

Another volume which will help to illumine the early legal history of America is the projected critical edition of "Democrates alter, sive de justis belli causis apud Indos" by Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, the greatest opponent of the theories of Bartolomé de Las Casas. Manuel García Pelayo of the University of Madrid is preparing for the "Centro de Estudios Históricos" a carefully annotated edition based upon the version given by Menéndez Pelayo.¹⁵ The volume will probably bear the title "Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda y los Títulos de Soberanía de España en América" and will include an introductory essay concerning the battle over Spain's legal title to the Indies.

Hitherto the *Centro de Estudios Históricos* has emphasized philology rather than history in its seminars and publications.¹⁶ It is to be hoped that the recent organization of a section devoted to American history will mean a different orientation of its studies. Ramón Iglesia, the director of this new section, is engaged in editing a new edition of the "Historia verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva España", by Bernal Díaz de Castillo, which will include an essay by Américo Castro on its literary value. The Genero García edition has usually been accepted as accurate, but Señor Iglesia has found a goodly number of errors in it, and some omissions.¹⁷ The *Centro* authorities have procured a photostatic copy of the original manuscript in Guatemala and plan to present an accurate version of this classic as their first important documentary publication in the field of American history.

The first two volumes of the *Academia de Historia* edition of Herrera's *Historia general de los Hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y Tierra firme del Mar océano* have appeared. The complete set will run to eight or ten volumes and is under the joint editorship of nounces volumes on the bulls of Alexander VI., Las Casas, Domingo de Soto, Gregorio López, Sepúlveda, and Solórzano.

¹⁵ Published in the *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, XXI. Madrid, 1892), 257-369.

¹⁶ Of course the *Centro* has produced some works of importance to historians such as the indispensable *Fuentes de la Historia Española e Hispanoamericana* by B. Sánchez Alonso (rev. ed., Madrid, 1927).

¹⁷ A careful textual study of the Díaz manuscripts and editions is needed. Ignacio Villar Villamil believes that Bernal Díaz wrote two accounts, both original but with somewhat different text. "Observaciones acerca de la Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España escrita por Bernal Díaz", *Anales del Museo nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Etnografía*, cuarta época, vol. VII. (Mexico, 1931-1932), 119-126.

Antonio Ballesteros Beretta and Angel de Altolaguirre y Duvalé. Unfortunately the price is too high (30 pesetas per volume) for the purse of most students.

The first volume will doubtless prove to be the most valuable of all because of the introduction and notes, biographical and bibliographical, supplied by Professor Ballesteros. Ballesteros cites the accusations of Fabié, Jiménez de Espada and others that Herrera blindly copied Las Casas without giving proper credit. Good use is made of a mass of documents collected during the lawsuit brought by the heirs of Pedrarias Dávila against Herrera¹⁸ to show that Herrera used many other sources besides Las Casas. But Professor Ballesteros makes no attempt to grapple seriously with the tangled problem of how Herrera used his sources. The energetic and stimulating Argentine scholar Rómulo Carbia has opened up this rich vein of historical combat in a series of provocative articles,¹⁹ but there still

¹⁸ *Documentos inéditos . . . de América*, vol. 37.

¹⁹ "Fernando Colón, el P. Las Casas, un señor Caddeo y yo", *Nosotros*, LXIX. (Buenos Aires, April, 1930), 59-73; "Fernández de Oviedo, Las Casas y el señor Caddeo", *ibid.*, LXX. (October, 1930), 90-95; "La historia del descubrimiento y los fraudes del P. Las Casas", *ibid.*, LXXII. (June, 1931) 139-154; "La superchería en la historia del descubrimiento de América", *Humanidades*, XX. (La Plata, 1930), 169-184; *El valor testimonial de cuatro cronistas americanos* (Buenos Aires, 1929); "El fraude de la documentación relativa al descubrimiento de América", *Investigación y Progreso*, III. (Madrid, 1929), 104-105; "Un enigma colombino resuelto: Porqué el colonista no hizo mención de Toscanelli", *ibid.*, VI. (Madrid, 1932), 94-97.

Señor Carbia's radical conclusions have not yet been generally accepted. Opposition has arisen both in Argentina and Spain as may be seen from the articles by Emiliana Jos, "Supuestas falsificaciones del P. Las Casas en la Historia de Colón", *Revista de Occidente* (Madrid, February, 1931) and by Rinaldo Caddeo, "Sobre Fernando Colón y el Padre Las Casas", *Nosotros*, LXIX. (Buenos Aires, 1930), 107-111. Probably most students would agree to the decision of the twenty-fifth international congress of Americanists at La Plata in 1932 that "Les conclusions d'une communication de R. Carbia sur la fausseté du témoignage de Las Casas ne furent pas adoptée par le Congrès qui décida que ce sujet devait faire l'objet de nouvelles études plus approfondies, *Jour. Soc. des Amer.*, Nouv. Ser., Tome XXV, fasc. 1, pp. 193-194.

Of course, any serious study of Herrera as a historian must inevitably consider the value of Las Casas. The Academia de Historia long ago planned to bring out a critical edition of Las Casas (Harrisse, *Bib. Amer. Vetus.*, p. 119) but never did. Nor has the plea made in 1914 by Altamira for such a study been answered, "Necesidad de una bibliografía crítica de las fuentes originales de la historia americana", *Congreso de Historia y Geografía Hispano-Americanas*.

remains a place for a careful study of Herrera as a historian on the scale of Georges Cirot's *Mariana. Historien* (Bordeaux, 1905).

The venerable Rafael Altamira continues to produce and to be the center of considerable activity. He plans to publish soon a "Manual de Historia de España", an illustrated volume of over four hundred pages, and a study of "Phillippe II, Homme d'État" which will appear in the French series "Hommes d'État". Altamira is also bringing out an Italian edition of the revised *Historia de la Civilización Española* and an enlarged and revised edition of the *Psicología del Pueblo Español*. Two new volumes will soon appear in the "Colección de Textos para el Estudio de la Historia y de las Instituciones de América" which Altamira started in 1926. They will be the fourth and fifth volumes in the collection and will be entitled respectively "Textos Primitivos de Legislación Colonial Hispanoamericana" and "Constituciones Primitivas de los Estados Hispanoamericanos".

Another series which Altamira founded and now directs with the assistance of his former student, Dr. Santiago Magariños—the publications of the "Instituto de Derecho comparado hispano-portugués-americano"—will include soon a Spanish translation of Friedrich Weber's still useful essay *Beiträge zur Charakteristik der älteren Geschichtsschreiber über Spanisch-Amerika* (Leipzig, 1911).

Another of Altamira's former students, Juan Manzano, has had his article on "Un compilador indiano: Don Manuel Josef de Ayala" accepted by the *Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas*.

Actas y Memorias, pp. 185-191 (Madrid, 1914). Interest has recently revived somewhat, but the studies made thus far are mostly pot-shots of no great general significance. Some of these articles are Lucius Lee Hubbard's "Did Columbus Discover Tobago?", *Essays Offered to Herbert Putnam*, pp. 211-223 (New Haven, 1929), William Warren Bishop and Andrew Keogh, editors; Fritz Streicher's "Las notas marginales colombinas y Las Casas", *Investigación y Progreso*, III. (Madrid, 1929), 44-45; Cecil Jane's "The opinion of Columbus concerning Cuba and the Indies", *Geographical Journal*, LXXIII. 266-270, and "The administration of the Colons in Española, 1493-1500", *Proceedings of the Twenty-first International Congress of Americanists*, First Part (The Hague, 1924); John F. O'Hara's criticism of Las Casas's treatment of Fonseca in "Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca: First President of the Indies (1493-1523)", *Catholic Historical Review*, III. (July, 1917) 131-150. See also Karl Panhorst, *Deutschland und Amerika. Ein Rückblick auf das Zeitalter des Entdeckungen* (Munich, 1928); *The Great Age of Discovery*, A. P. Newton, Ed. (London, 1932); B. Duhr, "Die Kolumbus Frage", *Stimmen der Zeit*, LXI. (1930) 195-207.

Altamira is including in his "Colección de Textos para el Estudio de la Historia y de las Instituciones de América" a volume of Ayala's *Notas a las Leyes de Indias* with a prologue by Manzano.

The *Archivo General de Indias* has always been a sort of studious beehive. Tourists who wander through the archive may see merely a group of people bending over manuscripts but, to those who know, the peculiar light which burns in the eyes of every student there betokens a flood of monographs, articles, and documentary publications soon to be released on a patient public.

José Torre Revello, who has labored long in the archives for the Argentine government, hopes that during the present year the following studies may be added to his already lengthy list of publications:²⁰

El libro y la imprenta en América durante la dominación española.

El marqués de Solere Monte, gobernador-intendente de Córdoba del Tucumán y virrey de Buenos Aires.

La desaparecida ciudad de Esteco.

La desaparecida ciudad llamada Concepción del Bermejo.

Miss Irene Wright, whose endurance record in the archives has yet to be broken by an American student, is completing her third volume for the Hakluyt Society of Spanish documents on the English voyages in the Caribbean²¹ which will take the story down to the end of Elizabeth's reign. The Dutch Royal Historical Society will bring out this year Miss Wright's two volume work on the Dutch in the Caribbean and on the Main in the period 1621-1648 in time for the quadrennial celebration of the Dutch occupation of Curaçao in 1934. Several maps and a reproduction of the painting in the Prado of Hendrickson's withdrawal from Puerto Rico will be included.

Dr. Ernst Schäfer,²² who has been laboring for a long time in the

²⁰ For his publications to date, see the article in this REVIEW for May, 1934 (vol. XIV, 262-268) by Irving A. Leonard, "Bibliography of José Torre Revello". This list has recently been published in Spanish translation.

²¹ *Documents concerning English voyages to the Spanish main.*

²² Dr. Schäfer has already published small portions of his volume in the Madrid journal, *Investigación y Progreso*, such as "Felipe II, el Consejo de Indias y el Virrey Don Francisco de Toledo" (July-August, 1931); "El origen del Consejo de Indias" (May, 1933); "El origen del Consejo de Indias. ¿Ha existido la Junta de Indias?" (March, 1933); "La plantilla del Consejo de Indias y las reformas intentadas durante el reinado de Carlos II" (1932), pp. 59-62; and "Algunos conflictos de jurisdicción en la administración española durante los siglos XVI y XVII" (1932), pp. 121-125.

archives on his history of the Council of the Indies, has completed the study and will publish it soon in Germany and expects to arrange for a Spanish translation thereafter.

Readers who were delighted with the first volume of *Planos de Monumentos Arquitectónicos de América y Filipinas existentes en el Archivo de Indias*, by Professor Diego Angulo Iníquez of the Laboratory of Art of the University of Seville may look forward to the appearance this year of the second volume. He also expects to publish a volume of "Documentos sobre obras de arte hechas para América, del Archivo de Protocolos de Sevilla" and the first fruit of his recent trip to Mexico, "Noticias sobre obras de arte conservadas en las iglesias de Méjico". It is encouraging to know that there is at least one competent and serious student in Spain of the vast subject of colonial art.

In closing this brief sketch, it is pertinent to refer to the important volumes which Roberto Levillier, the Argentine diplomat and historian, plans to publish this year. The two volume work he is preparing on "Don Francisco de Toledo. Supremo Organizador del Perú" will be the first full length study of this great colonial figure and will embody new material from the archives which may modify considerably the generally accepted views of Toledo's work and the institutions he moulded in Peru. In order to substantiate certain of his theories, Señor Levillier will bring out simultaneously with the biography a volume to be entitled "Los Incas del Perú. Sus orígenes y costumbres segun las Informaciones del Virrey Toledo y la Historia Índica de Sarmiento de Gamboa en sus Concordancias y Disidencias con los principales Cronistas de Indias".

Two books just published but not yet generally known are *España en Indias. Nuevos Ataques y nuevas Defensas* (Vitoria, 1934) by the prolific Jesuit writer Constantino Bayle and Antonio Ibot's *Los Trabajadores del Rio Magdalena durante el Siglo XVI* (Barcelona, 1933). Bayle's *apologia* for the Spanish régime in America is one of the most complete yet published and Ibot's study presents interesting information on a little known aspect of the labor problem in sixteenth century America.

Finally, when Señor J. Domínguez Bordona completes his catalogue of manuscripts in the national palace, formerly the king's library, another important collection will be available for students of the colonial period.

Harvard University.

LEWIS HANKE.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS IN HISPANIC AMERICA AND EUROPE

An event of more than passing interest in the field of Spanish historiography is the publication of Professor Rafael Altamira's *Manual de Historia de España* (Madrid, M. Aguilar, 1934). This is an entirely new work which covers in a single bulky volume of over six hundred pages the entire history of Spain. Its scope is sufficiently indicated by its chapter headings: Tiempos prehistóricos, La época de las colonizaciones orientales, La dominación romana, La dominación visigoda, La dominación musulmana, El Califato de Córdoba y la hegemonía musulmana, Los grandes avances cristianos del siglo XI al siglo XIII e el comienzo de las culturas propiamente españolas, El fin de la Reconquista e el comienzo de la unidad política española, El período de hegemonía y su final, El siglo XVIII e la Casa de Borbón, La lucha por el constitucionalismo y el nuevo renacimiento económico y cultural, La Dictadura y la segunda República. The book contains a number of useful appendices and over two hundred illustrations.

In an earlier number of this REVIEW attention was drawn to the series known as "The Pioneer Histories", now in course of publication. The general editors are two English scholars, J. A. Williamson, author of the *Voyages of the Cabots, Sir John Hawkins*, etc., and V. T. Harlow, author of *Raleigh's Last Voyage*. The majority of the books in the new series deal at least indirectly with Hispanic America. Among the volumes already published are those by A. P. Newton, *The European Nations in the West Indies, 1493-1688*, Sir William Foster, *England's Quest of Eastern Trade*, Edgar Prestage, *The Portuguese Pioneers*, J. B. Brebner, *The Explorers of North America, 1492-1806*, Eric A. Walker, *The Great Trek*, F. A. Kirkpatrick, *The Spanish Conquistadores*, and J. G. Beaglehole, *The Exploration of the Pacific*. The last two works have recently issued from the press. Among books in preparation are J. A. Williamson, *The Age of Drake*, and W. P. Morrell, *The Great Goldfields*. The series is being published by A. & C. Black, London, of whom the American agents are the Macmillan Company. The works of Professor Prestage and Mr. Kirkpatrick will be reviewed in THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW.

Something akin to a renaissance of historical studies in Portugal is evidenced by the appearance of a new monumental history of Portugal now in publication. Its full title is *Historia de Portugal, Edição munumental do oitavo centenario da fundação da nacionalidade, profusamente ilustrada e colaborada pelos mais eminentes historiadores e artistas portugueses* (Lisboa, Portucalense Editora, Lda, 1929-). It is not until we reach the third volume, published in 1933, of this great coöperative work that we find material of immediate interest to students of Hispanic America. The second part of this volume (pp. 331-624) has for its major heading "Descobrimentos e conquistas". The most important chapters, which deal with Portuguese maritime activity beginning with Prince Henry the Navigator, are written by Professor Jaime Cortesão, probably the greatest living authority on this subject. The views of Dr. Cortesão have already been set forth with much erudition in *A colonização portuguesa do Brasil* (3 vols. Porto, 1923), and also in the twelve lectures which he delivered at the Centro de Estudios de Historia de América at Seville in 1932. His most striking theory is that an Andalusian mariner in the service of Portugal reached America prior to 1492.

A work indispensable to the students of the first years of the Spanish Republic is the two volumes of the addresses of the ex-premier delivered from September, 1932, to May, 1934, and published by Sr. Manuel Azaña under the title *En el Poder y en la Oposición* (Madrid, 1934).

Sr. Héctor Greslebin, a well-known Argentine architect and archeologist, is convinced that in the various pre-Columbian civilizations of America is to be found a wealth of architectural and artistic motifs many of which may be utilized today. He has developed his thesis in an elaborate monograph entitled *La Enseñanza del Arte Americano Prehispánico y su Aplicación Moderna* (Buenos Aires, 1934). Purely as a study of the artistic achievements of the indigenous inhabitants of Mexico and the Andean regions of South America the book is of great interest.

The social history of the Argentine people has been made more intelligible by the work of the Spanish writer José María Salaverría in his *Vida de Martín Fierro* (Buenos Aires, 1934). Martín Fierro

is a purely fictitious personage, the hero of a long poetical work by José Hernández published in 1872. Yet critics declare that he is the most authentic *gaucho* in all of Argentine literature. Salaverría's detailed study of the setting of this poem sheds a flood of light on the legends, manners, and customs of the inhabitants of the Argentine pampas prior to the middle of the nineteenth century.

Another apologia of the Argentine dictator, Rosas, and all his works has recently appeared from the pen of Colonel Carlos A. Aldao in *El Brigadier General don José Félix Aldao* (Buenos Aires, 1934). This attempt to whitewash one of the most odious satraps of the dictator can hardly be called successful.

The well-known Argentine novelist, Enrique (Rodríguez) Larreta (*La gloria de Don Ramiro Zogoibí*), has written a fascinating historical booklet entitled *Las dos Fundaciones de Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires, Viau y Zona, 1933).

The Argentine historian, Sr. Octavio R. Amadeo, in his *Vidas Argentinas* (Buenos Aires, 1934) has shown himself a master of literary portraiture. His brilliant biographical sketches embrace most of the principal and some of the secondary figures in Argentine history during the nineteenth century.

The well-known author Sr. Arturo Capdevila has published a somewhat lyrical but altogether charming work on Argentina entitled *Tierra Mía* (Buenos Aires, 1934).

On the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the death of the great Alberdi, the Argentine publishing house of Juan Roldán y Cia (Florida 359, Buenos Aires) has placed on sale a special edition of his works in eighteen volumes entitled *Obras Selectas de Alberdi*.

All students of Argentine history should be familiar with the admirable series of monographs issued under the auspices of the Junta de Historia y Numismática Americana, probably the most important historical association in the republic. The series of which Dr. Ricardo Levene is director is known as the "Biblioteca de Historia Argentina y Americana" and now includes the following twelve works: Antonio

Dellepiane, *Estudios de Historia y Arte Argentinos*; Juan Álvarez, *Temas de Historia Económica Argentina*; Carlos Correa Luna, *Rivadavia y la simulación monárquica de 1815*; Ramón J. Cárcano, *Primeras luchas entre la Iglesia y el Estado en la Gubernación de Tucumán*; Mariano de Vedia y Mitre, *De Rivadavia a Rosas*; Clemente L. Fregeiro, *Estudios Históricos sobre la Revolución de Mayo*; Enrique Ruiz Guñazú, *La Tradición de América*; Pablo Cabrera, *Ensayos sobre la Etnología Argentina*; Arturo Capdevila, *Rivadavia y el Españolismo liberal de la Revolución Argentina*; Joaquín V. González, *Mitre*; Ricardo Levene, *La Anarquía de 1820 en Buenos Aires*. All of these works may be secured through the Librería y Editorial "El Ateneo", Florida 371, Buenos Aires.

Something over a year before his death, the late Colonel Juan Beverina had the satisfaction of completing his monumental work on the Paraguayan War. The seventh and last volume of *La Guerra del Paraguay desde la Invasión de los Aliados al Paraguay hasta Curupaty* (Buenos Aires, 1932), has for its sub-title *Cartografía*. As the complete title of work would indicate the story is only brought up through 1866. After this date the burden of continuing the struggle against López was carried on by Brazil. It is the most satisfactory military account of the war yet to appear in Argentina.

The historiography of Hispanic America is an important though relatively neglected field of investigation. A very significant contribution to this subject has just been made by Dr. Rómulo D. Carbia, professor in the Universities of Buenos Aires and La Plata, with an erudite monograph entitled *La Crónica oficial de las Indias Occidentales, Estudio histórico y crítico acerca de la Historiografía mayor de Hispano-América en los Siglos XVI a XVIII*. Con una introducción sobre la crónica oficial en Castilla (La Plata, Biblioteca Humanidades, XIV, 1934). Dr. Carbia is the author of a large number of books of which perhaps the most notable is his *Historia de la Historiografía Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1925).

One of the most important historical museums in Hispanic America is located in the fine old cabildo of the city of Luján near Buenos Aires. The treasures of this great collection are now rendered more available through the publication of an elaborate *Catálogo del Museo*

Colonial e Histórico de Luján (Buenos Aires, 1934). The work which was compiled by Sr. E. F. Sánchez Zinny, contains a large number of reproductions, many of them in colors, together with an abundance of historical references. The honorary director of the museum is the historian, Sr. Enrique Udaondo.

Interest in "Las Islas Malvinas" (The Falkland Islands) seems to be steadily growing in Argentina. The latest work on the subject, *El Zarpazo Inglés a las Islas Malvinas* (Buenos Aires, M. Gleizer, 1934) by Dr. Juan G. Beltrán, is designed to awaken the public conscience to "la argentinidad irredenta de Malvinas" and is frankly a work of propaganda. The prologue is by the well-known Socialist writer and deputy, Dr. Alfredo L. Palacios. In this connection it may be noted that the Argentine government recently voted funds for a new edition of the work of Groussac on the Falkland Islands, long out of print.

Argentine historians and publicists still take a passionate interest in the constituent assembly of 1852 and the constitution which emerged from it the following year. Yet the minutes of this memorable gathering have long been out of print and are found in only a few of the public libraries of Argentina. Dr. Eduardo A. Ibarra, a well-known writer on Argentine public law, has therefore rendered a real service in publishing his *Congreso constituyente de 1852. Constitución de 1853* (Buenos Aires, 1934). The author has not only given an excellent and detailed account of this famous gathering but has published *in extenso* the relevant documents, including the actual minutes of the sessions of the congress of 1852.

Those aspects of the historical and social development of the capital of Argentina which usually escape the attention of the more conventional historians have been made the special study of Sr. Manuel Bilbao in his *Tradiciones y Recuerdos de Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires, 1934). The present book is a companion volume to his *Buenos Aires desde su Fundación hasta nuestros Días*, published some thirty years ago. In these two works are to be found such data as the opening of the first railroads and tramways, the beginning of modern illumination, the paving of streets, the circumstances of the erection of prominent buildings, and similar information. The new

book, especially, is a veritable thesaurus of interesting information which is rarely available in standard works on Argentine history.

The eminent Brazilian jurist, writer, and diplomat, Rodrigo Octavio, has written one of the most attractive and valuable books of memoirs that has appeared for many a day in South America. *Minhas Memórias dos Outros* (1ª serie, Livraria José Olympio Editora, Rio de Janeiro, 1934) embraces more than forty years of active public life and a full half century of literary activity. Some of the outstanding men in Brazilian history, belonging to a past generation, were friends of the writer. Dom Pedro II., Carlos de Carvalho, Prudente de Moraes, and Joaquim Nabuco live again in the pages of this delightful book. The volume is but the first of a series of *Memórias* of Dr. Rodrigo Octavio. The second will appear in a few months and will deal with such historical and literary figures as Rio Branco, Ruy Barbosa, and Machado de Assis.

Among the brilliant naval officers whom Lord Cochrane, the founder of the Chilean and Brazilian navies, grouped about him was Captain John Taylor, some of whose exploits eclipsed those of Cochrane himself. This gallant English seaman has found an excellent and conscientious biographer in Sr. Theo Filho, whose work, *A grande Vida de John Taylor* (Rio de Janeiro, Civilização Brasileira Editora, 1934) is invaluable for the study of the Brazilian navy under Dom Pedro I.

Under the title of *No tempo da Corôa* (Rio de Janeiro, Editora Alba, 1934), Sr. Carlos Maul has assembled a number of articles, based on a reëxamination of the sources, dealing for the most part with the colonial history of Brazil and the reigns of D. João and D. Pedro I. The three most interesting chapters are: "O verdadeiro Tiradentes", "Uma intriga diplomatica" (the activities of D. Carlota Joaquina in the Plata), and "A independência e a doutrina de Monroe". In this latter chapter, Sr. Maul claims for the United States the rôle which Oliveira Lima attributes to Great Britain in his *Reconhecimento do Império*.

Professor Alfredo Ellis (Junior) is the author of an excellent *Geographia* (São Paulo, Livraria Academica, Saraiva & C., 1934). A

good half of the book is devoted to the geography and ethnography of Brazil.

During the year 1935, three very important works on Brazilian history, of which extracts have appeared in the press of Rio de Janeiro, are scheduled for publication. Sr. Heitor Lyra has for the last four years been working on a biography of Dom Pedro II., utilizing for the most part unprinted material. Sr. Veiga Miranda, under the title of *O Pamphletario d' "O primeiro Reinado"* has already published the greater part of his monograph on the period of Dom Pedro I. and the Regency with especial attention to the rôle of Evaristo da Veiga. Sr. Alfredo Balthazar da Silveira is about to issue a monograph with the title of *O Clero e o Abolicionismo*.

A Revolução dos Farrapos, as the almost endemic civil war which waged in Southern Brazil during the thirties of the last century is called, is the title of a series of lectures published by Sr. Fernando Gallage (São Paulo, Typographia Garraux, 1934).

Under the title of *A primeira Biographia inédita de José de Anchieta*, Sr. Seraphim Leite has published the manuscript of the "Breve Relação da Vida e Morte do P. José de Anchieta, 5º Provincial que foi do Brasil, recolhida por o P. Quirício Caixa, por ordem do P. Provincial Pero Rôiz no anno de 1593" (Lisboa, Edições "Broteria", 1934).

An immense number of interesting side-lights on one of the most remarkable personalities in Brazil is to be found in the *Correspondência Intima de Ruy Barbosa*, of which the second edition, arranged and annotated by Sr. Affonso Ruy has just been published (Bahia, 1934). The letters clear up many obscure points of recent Brazilian history, e. g. Ruy's refusal to head the Brazilian mission to the peace conference. The senator from Bahia felt, it would seem, that he did not sufficiently enjoy the support and coöperation of Sr. Domicio da Gama, at that time minister of foreign affairs.

In his work *Paulistica, Historia de S. Paulo* (Rio de Janeiro, 1934), Sr. Paulo Prado has assembled a number of essays dealing with various phases of the development of the city and captaincy of São Paulo.

The tragic and agitated career of the elder daughter of Dom Pedro I. is charmingly described by Maria Junqueira Schmidt in *Princesa Maria da Gloria* (Rio de Janeiro, F. Briguet & C., 1934). Senhora Schmidt is the author of an excellent life of D. Amelia de Leuchtemberg, the second wife of the first emperor, a work awarded the coveted prize of the Brazilian academy of letters.

Though promulgated as late as July, 1934, the new Brazilian constitution has already given rise to a number of studies. The first of these by Sr. Cincinato Braga, a noted economist and former president of the Banco do Brasil, consists of speeches which he made as a member of the constituent assembly, largely on financial and economic matters. It is entitled *Trabalhos na Constituinte de 1934* (São Paulo, Empresa Grafica da "Revista dos Tribunaes", 1934). The second, a more analytical work entitled *Constituição Federal Brasileira de 1934* is by Dr. Antonio Marques dos Reis, professor of the faculty of law of Bahia, and appears in Volume XII. of the "Biblioteca Juridica Brasileira" (A. Coelho Branco Filho, Editor, Rio de Janeiro, 1934). The first part is an historical account of the constitution of 1891 and the 1933 draft of the new constitution. The major portion of the book contains the text of this latter instrument with detailed commentaries by the author. It will be of great value to all students of Brazilian constitutional law. Finally should be mentioned *Constituintes Brasileiras de 1934* by Wanor R. Godino and Oswaldo S. Andrade (Rio de Janeiro, Graficas Santo Antonio, 1934). The book contains portraits and biographical sketches of all of the members of the constituent assembly, a long article on the importance and composition of this body by the publicist, Sr. Otto Prazeres, and finally the biography of President Getulio Vargas.

The Brazilian writer, Sr. Paulo Setubal, who has a number of romances to his credit, has just written a fascinating historical novel entitled *El Dorado* (Rio de Janeiro, 1934). The canvas is a broad one. It includes the sixteenth century voyages of Thomé and Martin de Souza and the later expeditions of the *bandeirantes*. Though frankly an historical romance the more important episodes and personages are taken directly from history. The author has used to good advantage the standard monographs and other works on the subject, especially the admirable studies of the Paulista historian, Dr.

Afonso de E. Taunay. Sr. Setubal has succeeded in evoking with rare charm and fidelity some of the most colorful episodes of Brazil's colonial history. The book merits translation into English.

In the series known as the "Biblioteca de Sociologia e Politico" edited by Professor Afranio Peixoto, Sr. Annibal Falção, the editor-in-chief of *O Economista*, has published a very interesting series of studies under the title of *Formula da Civilização Brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, Editora Guanabara, 1934). They include "Annibal Falção" (the father of the writer and a prominent political leader in the latter days of the empire and the early years of the republic), "Formula da Civilização Brasileira" (a study of the social and ethnic factors that have contributed to the evolution of the Brazilian people), "Joaquim Nabuco e a campanha abolicionista", and "O povoamento do Brasil Oriental".

Sr. Agustín Edwards, statesman, ex-Chilean minister to Great Britain, and writer (recently deceased) has issued two substantial volumes entitled *Cuatro Presidentes de Chile 1841-1876* (Valparaíso, 1934). The presidents in question are Bulnes, Manuel Montt, Joaquín Pérez, and Errázuriz. The value of these carefully written biographies is somewhat lessened by the almost complete absence of critical apparatus.

Sr. Ernesto Restrepo Tirado, a Colombian scholar, who in various official capacities has been residing during the past few years in Seville has just published *Gobernantes del Nuevo Reyno de Granada durante el Siglo XVIII* (Buenos Aires, Publicaciones del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Núm. LXV, 1934). Based on careful investigations in the Archivo de Indias, this monograph gives a detailed account of the somewhat somnolent life of New Granada during the latter part of the Spanish régime.

The eminent Colombian critic and educator, Dr. Luis López de Meza, at present Minister of Education, has written an outstanding survey of the sociological development of his country under the title of *De cómo se ha formado la Nación Colombiana* (Librería Colombiana de Comacho & Roldán, Bogota, 1934). Among the other important

works of Dr. López de Mesa may be mentioned *La Civilización contemporánea* (1930) and *Introducción a la Historia de la Cultura en Colombia* (1930).

In the *Anales de la Academia de la Historia de Cuba* (Tomo XV, Enero-Diciembre, 1933) Dr. José María Chacón y Calvo has published a very interesting memorandum of the Spanish general, Manuel Salamanca y Negrete, later captain general of Cuba, entitled "Ligeros apuntes sobre la Guerra de Cuba". This manuscript, written in 1880, is a devastating analysis of the futility of the methods hitherto employed by the Spaniards in trying to suppress the rebellion in Cuba. It is an important contribution to the history of the period.

During the year 1934, the Academia de la Historia de Cuba has issued three publications of exceptional interest. The first is *Céspedes visto por los Ojos de su Hija*, a charming biography of the great hero of Cuban independence written by Gloria de los Dolores de Céspedes y de Quesada. The second is a lengthy discourse by the scholar and academician, Dr. Juan Miguel Dihigo, entitled *El Mayor General Pedro E. Betancourt y Dávila en la Lucha por la Independencia de Cuba*. The third is the second instalment of the *Papeles de Martí* (the first series, dealing with the correspondence between Martí and Máximo Gómez, has already been noted in this REVIEW), and is entitled *Epistolario de José Martí y Gonzalo de Quesada*, with an introduction and notes by Sr. Gonzalo de Quesada y Miranda. Gonzalo de Quesada (died in 1915) was some twenty years younger than Martí and was his devoted disciple. For many years he was secretary of the Partido Revolucionario Cubano. The letters, which cover the years 1889-1895, represent an important contribution to the history of the Cuban movement for independence.

Under the general direction of Captain Joaquín Llaverías, chief of the Cuban National Archives, is published bimonthly the *Boletín del Archivo Nacional*. Owing to the disturbed political conditions in Havana, it is only in 1934 that nos. 1-6 of Tomo XXXI for January-December 1932 have been issued. These contain several items of note. There is an interesting account, illustrated, of recent improvements made in the arrangement of the archives under the direction of Cap-

tain Llaverías. Then follows a lengthy report of the secret mission to Santo Domingo by Don Mariano Torriente presented to the captain general of Cuba in 1851. It contains a valuable account of the Dominican Republic under President Báez and the manoeuvres of the Spanish, French, and United States Governments to establish their influence in the island. The last item is a series of important letters exchanged between Estrada Palma and Máximo Gómez during the year 1898. The National Archives are located at the corner of Calles Compostela and Fundación, Havana.

Literature on the late and unlamented dictator of Cuba has begun to appear. Alberto Lamar Schweyer, a Cuban writer who has suffered the pains of exile, in his book *Como cayó el Presidente Machado* (Buenos Aires, 1934) has flayed the dictator and all his works. He has little use for the United States, which he largely holds responsible for Cuba's ills.

Further sidelights on the unhappy régime of Cuban dictator Machado are supplied by the lately deceased Cuban ambassador in Washington, Dr. M. Márquez Sterling, in his *Las Conferencias del Shoreham (El Cesarismo en Cuba)* (México, Botas, 1933). The greater part of the book deals with the author's experiences as Cuban ambassador to Mexico under Machado with whom he finally broke. Dr. Márquez Sterling knew Mexico as do few foreigners; his work *Los últimos Días del Presidente Madero* (1911) has become something of a classic.

The testament of the late Rodolfo Rodríguez de Armas provided a substantial sum of money to be used as prizes by the Academia de la Historia de Cuba for various works dealing with Cuban history. The latest project to be sponsored by the Academy is a *Diccionario Biográfico Cubana*. The first instalment will include only biographies falling under the letters Q to Z inclusive. The contest, which will close February 4, 1935, is open to Cubans and foreigners alike. The first prize for the best biography is four hundred dollars and fifty copies of the dictionary. It is assumed that further prizes will be offered for other sections of the dictionary, which will consist of several volumes. Full details may be had from the secretary, Sr. René Lufriú, Amargura and Cuba, Havana.

The Cuban scholar, Dr. Herminio Portell Vilá, published during 1934, two brochures of great interest to students of the foreign relations of Cuba. The first, entitled *Martí, diplomático* (Habana, Cultura, S. A., 1934) is an important contribution to a little known chapter of Cuban-United States relations. The second, *Cuba y la Conferencia de Montevideo* (Habana, Imprenta "Heraldo Cristiano", 1934) is a collection of articles and speeches by Dr. Portell Vilá describing at length Cuba's participation in the Seventh International American Conference. As the writer was one of the Cuban delegates to this body he may speak with authority and his account is one of the best we possess of the Montevideo gathering. Dr. Portell Vilá has written extensively on Cuba and its relations to the United States, his most important work being *Narciso López y su Época* (Habana, 1930). He has in preparation a second and third volume of this work as well as a two volume treatise, in English, entitled *The History of American Diplomacy in Cuba (1776-1933)*.

An interesting work by the Guatemalan publicist, Miguel Ángel Asturias, has been translated by the French scholar F. de Miomandre, under the title of *Légendes de Guatémala* (Marseilles, Les Cahiers du Sud, 1932). No less a personage than Paul Valéry, the French Academician, has written a preface to this charming little volume.

Sr. Rafael Heliodoro Valle, the scholarly Honduran publicist and writer, long a resident of Mexico, has been appointed editor-in-chief of the American section of a new Spanish encyclopedia being published by Salvat Editores of Barcelona and the Editorial Gonzales Porto of Mexico City. The volumes, to be profusely and handsomely illustrated, will naturally accord much space to Hispanic America. The article on the United States will be written by Manoel da Silveira Soares Cardoza of Stanford University.

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MEXICO IN UNITED STATES AND BRITISH PERIODICALS

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NOTES

Godoy, the First Dictator of Modern Times, by Hans Roger Madol, translated from the German by G. D. H. Pidcock (London, Hurst and Blackett, Ltd., 1934, 288 pp.), is a lively biography of one of Spain's outstanding court favorites, who had heaped upon him all the honors, power, and emoluments which a weak king and an ambitious queen could confer. While he dominated the government for years and played a leading rôle in a period of decline, it can not be said that he was a dictator in the present day sense. He was indeed but a most fortunate royal favorite. The author has written his book principally from French and Prussian sources and gives long excerpts from the gossip reports of the ambassadors of these two courts. He parades the scandals of the Spanish court. By sheer repetition, without, however, adducing any real evidence to support his assertions, he seeks to establish Godoy's paternity of two of the children of María Louise, thereby making him a direct ancestor of the last two kings of Spain. A bibliography is included, but numerous items written by Spaniards are omitted. No use whatever is made of Spanish sources which certainly would throw much light on the life of Godoy both on its frivolous and serious side.—R. R. H.

A very interesting and valuable compilation is the second edition of Augusto Malaret's *Diccionario de Americanismos* (San Juan, Puerto Rico, Imprenta "Venezuela", 1931. Malaret also compiled a *Diccionario de Provincialismos de Puerto Rico* (San Juan, Tipografía Fernández, 1917).—A. M.

In a volume entitled simply *Discursos* (Buenos Aires, Talleres Gráficos Argentinos de L. J. Rosso, Doblas 951, 1933, pp. 315) are presented 34 addresses by José Figueroa Alcorta, between 1897 and 1929, president of Argentina. Viewed from the angle of the activities of one man's mind, this is an interesting publication. The addresses were those selected by Dr. Figueroa Alcorta himself and belong to different periods of his public career. Owing to the erudite orator's modesty, he could not bring himself to publish them during his life-

time, and they have now only been published by his family. The volume is preceded by an essay by Enrique de Vedia, dated July, 1916, entitled "Oratorio Gubernativo: El Presidente Dr. José Figueroa Alcorta". In this essay, Figueroa Alcorta's style of oratory is contrasted with that of other prominent public men of Argentina. Among the various addresses may be mentioned: "Educación de la Mujer", delivered when Figueroa Alcorta was governor of Córdoba (October 12, 1897); "Obra de Luz y de Fuerza" (November 20, 1897) "Velez Sarsfield" (November 30, 1897); one of June 25, 1902, at the secret session relative to the treaties with Chile; one of January 21, 1906, when vice-president on the occasion of the exhuming of the remains of Bartolome Mitre; one, when president, on July 19, 1906, on the occasion of the exhuming of the remains of Dr. Carlos Pellegrini, in which a high degree of excellence was reached; one of August 14, 1906, at a banquet to Elihu Root; and the last in the volume, that delivered at the burial of Dr. Antonio Bermejo, president of the supreme court of Argentina, on October 20, 1929. All the addresses maintain a high tone, and while some of them were called forth by trifling incidents, they compare well with the public addresses of any country. The volume is printed on unusually good paper and in pleasing types.

Fernando Ocaranza has recently produced two works of merit, namely *Establecimientos Franciscanos en el misterioso Reino de Nuevo Mexico* and *Capítulos de la Historia Franciscano* (segundo serie), both printed in Mexico, in 1934. The second volume is preceded by a quotation from the well known scholar Rafael Heliodoro Valle, on the missions of the Franciscans. Both of these volumes will be reviewed in a future issue of this REVIEW. The author has already published other volumes, among which may be mentioned *Los Franciscanos en las Provincias internas de Sonora y Ostimuri*; *Historia de la Medicina en Mexico*; and he has in press *La Beatificación del Venerable Sebastián de Aparicio*, and *El imperial Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Santiago Tlaltelolco*.

Barbara Peart (of Irish nationality) in *Tia Barbarita* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co. [1934], pp. 360, \$2.50), at the age of about eighty tells the story of her life in Ireland, as a bride on a ranch in Argentina, and later in Mexico, Texas, and other places. This is

a very frank autobiography. One can see how the hard working, hard drinking, and hard playing ranchers lived, not taking a great deal of thought for the morrow at all times, but getting a great deal of pleasure out of life along with their strenuous duties. The life in Mexico is portrayed as intimately, and there and in other places, what Barbarita did is told interestingly and without ostentation. The volume will take its place in the social history of both Argentina and Mexico.

Monograph No. 28 of the series "Monografías Bibliográficas Mexicanas", namely *Bibliografía del Teatro en Mexico* (Mexico 1934, pp. lxxx, 649, [3], by Francisco Monterde, is an excellent contribution to an excellent series. It is preceded by a facsimile entitled "Noticia al publico sobre la reforme general del Coliseo, hecha por D. Juan Manuel de San Vicente, para las Representaciones venideras, baxo las circunstancias de los articulos siguientes"; and an introduction by Rudolfo Usigli, in which many historical data are given. There is also a facsimile title page (MS.) of a play, the original of which is in the García Collection in the University of Texas. The bibliography proper is divided into "Obras originales de Autores Mexicanos y de Extranjeros con larga Residencia en el Pais o que colaboraron con Traducciones, Adaptaciones y Arreglos de Obras extranjeras de Teatro hechos por Mexicanos o por Extranjeros con Vínculos en el Pais, y Obras Mexicanas vertidas a otras Idiomas; Obras de Dramaturgos y Comediógrafos extranjeros que fueron impresas en México, por haber residido sus Autores en el Pais, y Obras originales extranjeras con Tema Mexicano; Obras que contienen Estudios o Referencias sobre el Teatro y los Autores Mexicanos. The volume also contains two appendices, namely: Diálogos patrióticos; and Diálogos populares. This is a good piece of work and supplies a need. It will be used by historians as well as by students of belles lettres.

Lansing B. Bloom, associate professor of history in the University of New Mexico and editor of the *New Mexico Historical Review*, and Thomas C. Donnelly, professor of political science, New Mexico State Teachers College, have told the history of New Mexico in their volume entitled *New Mexico History and Civics* (Albuquerque, N. M., The University Press, 1933, pp. xv, 539), which makes an acceptable

state textbook. The volume is dedicated to the memory of Amando Chaves, first superintendent of public instruction in New Mexico. Professor Bloom has written the chapters on history and Professor Donnelly those on government. The first part treats in large measure of the Spanish epoch. The volume contains the following chapters: Plus Ultra; Spain seeks the West; The Northern Mystery; The early Pueblo People; "Cibola" becomes "New Mexico" (1540-1610); The great Missionary Era (1673-1769); An internal Province (1776-1821); The Mexican Interlude (1821-1846); The Blending of two Frontiers (1807-1911); Statehood (1911-1933). The story is told briefly for high school students.

Bruno Roselli, in his *Vigo: a forgotten Builder of the American Republic* (Boston, The Stratford Company, 1933, pp. [6], 280, \$2.00), set out to show that Colonel Francisco Vigo has not received his due meed from posterity. He has put into a volume of almost 300 pages what could easily have been said in a single essay of fifty pages at the most. Much of the volume is taken up with the author's animadversions on the unfairness of history. His points are well taken, but condensation and fewer expositions of the author's own rich exuberant mind would have vastly improved and greatly dignified the volume. It is easy to see that the work has been a labor of love and a vindication of a fellow Italian, to whom the United States was greatly indebted. The main part of the volume centers about Vigo's service in Vincennes, which is well known to historians, but some little relates to his experiences in Spanish territory in North America. An essay going more fully into his Spanish connections would be of interest and value.

Los Problemas de la Unificación Americana (Prensas de la Universidad de Chile, 1933, pp. 50), by Eugenio Orrego Vicuña is a reprint from the *Anales de la Universidad de Chile* (1933). This very interesting article was given as a lecture at the University of Chile on October 13, 1933, in response to an invitation by the Students' Federation. The author favors an American Federation comprising all the countries of the Americas, including Canada. This is even now on the way, he thinks, for the United States has lost its aggressive tone. He lays down certain rules advocated in part by Vicuña Mackenna; a common flag of the federation, and certain

councils, institutes, and other bodies; the abolition of customs barriers; and an army. The League of Nations he believes to be wholly European. An American league is needed.

A very pleasing and excellent review comes from the Biblioteca Nacional of Bogotá, entitled simply "Senderos". Its fine grade paper, attractive type faces, and format add to the impression it creates through its materials. *Senderos* is now in its second volume. Its issue for August and September (Nos. 7 and 8) issued as a single number contains the following articles: *La Redención de la Aldea*; *Estatutos de la Aldea Colombiana*, by Luis Lopez Mesa; *Sobre los Propósitos del Ministerio de la Educación*; *Reminiscencias*, by Gustavo Simón; *Vestigios de la Lengua Chibcha*, by Manuel José Forero; *El Cumpleaños de la Ciudad*; *Las Tertulias de la Independencia en Casa de Doña Manuela Sanz de Santamaría de González Manrique*, by Máximo Soto Hall; *Granjas populares para la Educación de la Mujer—Conferencia dictada en la Universidad Javeriana de Bogotá, el Día 16 de Agosto de 1900 por el Profesor Ramón Zapata*; *Noticula sobre Alfonso Caro*, by Luis María Mora; *Bjornstjerne Bjornson*, by Alfonso Caro; *Sir Edward Vernon y Don Blas de Lezo*, by Guillermo Hernández Alba; *Don Belisario Peña*, by Gustavo Otero Muñoz; *Una Visita interesante* (referring to the recent visit of Dr. L. S. Rowe to Colombia, inclosing a reproduction of a description of the Fourth of July celebration of 1873 in Bogotá, and *Discursos del doctor Leo S. Rowe en la Fiesta que le ofreció la Academia Colombiana de Historia en la Quinta de Bolívar, el 5 de Agosto último*); *El Doctor Cuervo y la Biblioteca Nacional*, by Daniel Samper Ortega; *Una Excursión al Pantano de Vargas*, by R. Cortazar. The issue has also a section devoted to bibliography.

The Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas for October, 1933 to June, 1934 (Nos. 58-60) fully maintains the standard set by its predecessors. Incidentally, it is good to see this continuation of a review that we had been looking forward to each quarter and to which we owe so many good things. This issue, double the size, at least, of any so far published contains in its section of "Artículos Originales" the following items: *Juan de Solórzano Pereira—Nuevos Datos para su Biografía*, by José Torre Revello; *Valentín Gómez y Antonio José Irisarri*, by Rubén Vargas Ugarte, S. J.—with an ap-

pendix of valuable original documents; *Los Límites de la Gobernación de Don Pedro Malaver de Silva*, by Enrique de Gandía; *Los Alcaldes de Buenos Aires en 1806—Su Actuación durante la primera invasión Inglesa*, by José María Saénz Valiente; *Repercusión de las Invasiones Inglesas en el Paraguay*, by Alfredo C. Vitulo; *Mariana Eleuterio de Sarratea: Notas para una Biografía, 1812-1886*, by L. de León Canaveri; *Rectificación*, by Luis Teixador, S. J.; *Sublevación de los Prisioneros Españoles en San Luis*, by María de las Mercedes Constanzó, with an appendix of original documents; *La Provincia de Nueva Extremadura en el Siglo XVI*, by Rómulo D. Carbia, with an appendix of original documents, partly in facsimile; *El Bloqueo Francés de 1838 y la Misión Cullen*, by José Luis Busaniche, with appendix of original documents; *El "Año de los Insurgentes": Bouchard en la Costa de California*, by Teodoro Caillet-Bois; *Etnografía antigua de Santiago de Estero Siglo XVI*, by Antonio Serrano. The section of "Relaciones Documentales" has the following: *Santiago Liniers no fue Conde de Buenos Aires*, by Emilio Ravignani; *Una interesante Carta de Pueyrredón*, by Juan Canter; *El Vale patriótico de Liniers*, by José Torre Revello. The section "Inventarios Generales o Especiales" has a continuation of *Archivo General de la Nación, República Argentina*. In the section "Información General" are many good items, among which are the following: *Cursos patrocinados por el Instituto de Didáctica de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras*; *Contribución a la Bibliografía de Jorge Cabral*, by Ricardo R. Caillet-Bois; *Un importante decreto sobre el Archivo General de Indias*; *Congreso de Historia Hispano Americana*; *Dr. Angel L. Gallardo, Rector de la Universidad de Buenos Aires*, by Emilio Ravignani. The "Inventario de Documentos publicados" is also continued.

Peter M. Dunne is the author of an article entitled "The Literature of the Jesuits of New Spain", which appeared in the *Catholic Historical Review*, for October, 1934.

A number of the titles in Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles' Catalogue No. 6, of "Rare Books, etc., relating to America", the title page of which carries in facsimile the well known title page of Bry's 1591 relation concerning Florida, relate to Hispanic America.

The Pacific Coast Review for September, 1934, publishes an article on "The Revolution and the Railroads of Mexico", by Osgood Hardy, and one on "Colonial Origins of American Diplomatic Principles", by Max Savelle.

World Affairs (Washington) for September, 1934, has the following: National Drama of Argentina, by C. K. Jones; Emerging America, by Samuel Guy Inman; Fundamental Factors in our Policy with reference to the Gulf and Caribbean Area, by J. Fred Rippey; Limitations upon the Right of Diplomatic Asylums in Peru, 1867, by L. Clinton Nolan; Anglo-American Rivalry in Brazil, by Alan K. Manchester; and Roosevelt's Caribbean Jaunt, by George Howland Cox.

Revista Bimestre Cubana for January-February, 1934, contains materials as follows: Cuba y la Enmienda Platt, and La Situación del Caribe: Cuba, both by Raymond Leslie Buell; El Deber Norteamericana en Cuba, and Alejandro de Humboldt y Cuba (conclusion), both by Fernando Ortiz; Esquema de la Cultura Hispanoamericana, by Luis Alberto Sánchez; and Informaciones: La Política arancelaria de Hoover, by Enrique J. Montoulieu. That for March-April, 1934, contains: Esquema de la Cultura Hispanoamericana (conclusion), by Luis Alberto Sánchez; El Camagüey Precolombino, by Felipe Pichardo Moya; Cuba y los Estados Unidos, by Joaquín Quilez; Las Responsabilidades de los Estados Unidos en los Males de Cuba, by Fernando Ortiz; La Condesa de Noailles, by Consuelo Montoro; Nuestro Camino de Damasco, by Manuel González. That for May-June, 1934, has: El Pacto del Zanjón y la Protesta de Baraguá, by A. Clavijo Tisseur; Las Dos Américas, by Stephen P. Duggan; Cuba y el Imperialismo Yanqui (Síntesis Histórica), by J. Pérez de la Riva; Cuba y los Estados Unidos (conclusion), by Joaquín Quilez; En Torno a una Bibliografía Cubana, by Manuel Pedro González; El Carácter Cubano: La Heterogeneidad Ibérica (continuation), by Elias Entralgo; and Martí por sí mismo, by Emilia Bernal.

The American Council of Learned Societies has published as its Bulletin, No. 21 (March, 1934), *A List of American Periodicals and Serial Publications in the Humanities and Social Sciences*, which was compiled by Leo F. Stock (Washington, D. C., pp. 130). This gives

in orderly sequence a great deal of useful information, which the busy man (scholar or otherwise) needs without having to spend many hours getting it for himself.

The "Annual Report of the Division of Historical Research—Section of United States History", of the Carnegie Institution of Washington (reprinted from Year Book, No. 32, 1932-33, pp. 42-119, and issued on December 15, 1933) contains a most interesting account of the "History of Yucatan Projects", which was written by Dr. France V. Scholes, who has had charge of the project from its inception. This is an excellent resumé of what has been done toward getting manuscript materials from Spain relating to the history of Yucatan. The photostated materials sent in by Dr. Scholes are extensive and valuable. Outside of the archives themselves, no such body of material relating to one of the most important archaeological regions in the world has been brought together.

The Division of Intellectual Coöperation of the Pan American Union issued in 1933, as No. 12 of its mimeographed "Bibliographic Series" a fifteen-page "Bibliographies on Pan American Topics suggested for High Schools". This gives an excellent idea of the work being performed by the Division in bringing Hispanic America to the notice of the people of the United States. The materials—both books and articles—

in this bibliography have been selected with the idea of giving the student an opportunity to weigh different points of view, especially on controversial subjects. It is also the purpose of these references to provide a fund of information that will serve as an introduction to further study.

On October 15, 1933, the Columbian Library of the Pan American Union published as "Serie Bibliográfica", No. 3, 2d ed., revised and enlarged, entitled "Fuentes de Información sobre Libros de la América Latina (pp. 28, \$0.25). This mimeographed publication, which is in Spanish, is divided into three parts: 1. Lista de Revistas que tienen Secciones de Crítica literaria y bibliográfica. 2. Lista de Revistas de Bibliografía y Biblioteca. 3. Lista selecta de Librerías, con algunos Detalles pertinentes. Each section has lists for each republic in the Americas. It should be of considerable use both extensively and intensively.

The Pan American Union has published the 7th edition (revised) of *Ports and Harbors of South America* (1934, pp. 195), by William A. Reid, foreign trade adviser of the Union. The new edition has a number of interesting maps and illustrations. The reading matter is authoritative.

The *Revue des Études Mayas-Quichéés*, which is published at 106 Boulevard Saint-Germain, Paris, has recently issued its first number for 1934. This review publishes studies of all the ancient Mexican and Central American civilizations, among them original memoirs and old chronicles which have become scarce. In the French language, it has published books as follows:

Genet, J.: *Esquisse d'une Civilization oubliée.*

——— *Histoire des Peuples Shoshones-Azteques.*

——— and Chelbatz, P.: *Histoire des Peuples Mayas-Quichéés.*

Landa, D. de: *Relation des Choses de Yucatan* (Spanish text with French translation).

Nordenskiöld, E.: *Analyse ethno-géographique de la Culture matérielle de deux Tribus du Grand Chaco.*

Ramusio, G. B.: *A la Découverte de l'Amérique du Nord. Navigations et Voyages (XVI^e Siècle).*

Silbermann, O.: *Un continent Perdu. L'Atlantide.*

In Spanish have been issued the following:

Boturini Benaduci, L.: *Idea de una nueva Historia general de la América Septentrional.*

Conzemius, E.: *Los Indios Poyas de Honduras.*

Elorza y Rada, F.: *Historia de la Conquista de la Provincia de el Ytza en la Nueva-España, por Don Martín de Ursua* (Spanish text with English translation).

Dr. Paul J. Foik has an interesting article in *Mid-America* (April, 1934) on "Early Plans for the German Catholic Colonization in Texas", during the Spanish and Mexican régimes.

The *Quarterly* of the Florida Historical Society, which is published at Jacksonville, Florida, has a most interesting and valuable article in its April, 1934, issue, by Dr. Joseph B. Lockey. This is entitled "The Florida Intrigues of José Alvarez de Toledo". In his skilful handling of the available material, Dr. Lockey has made a clear case against this slippery Spaniard, who really seems to have been a

Spanish agent masquerading under the guise of a revolutionist against Spain. It is possible that at some future time, further documents may be found to complete this story, but it is unlikely that any future finds will do more than corroborate in greater detail every point raised by Dr. Lockey.

The same issue of the *Quarterly* also presents further Panton-Leslie material—a letter from John to Robert Leslie, dated at St. Augustine, May 9, 1796.

Apparently, the *Bibliographical Essays: A Tribute to Wilberforce Eames*, which was printed at the Harvard University Press, in 1924, being a volume of a very special nature, has had comparatively little notification. Among the many interesting essays are two that treat of Hispanic America. These are "Quienes fueron los Autores hasta ahora ignorados, de dos Libros Ingleses que interesan a América", by the great bibliographer, José Toribio Medina; and "Sixteenth-Century Mexican Imprints", by Henry R. Wagner.

"Social Service Bulletin, No. 2, namely, *The Unwritten Literature of the Hopi*, by Hattie Greene Lockett (Tuscon, Arizona, May 15, 1933), contains a few reminiscences dating from Spanish times. It is an interesting bulletin.

Publication, No. 5, of the Ibero-Americana Series, which is published by the University of California Press, is entitled *The Distribution of aboriginal Tribes and Languages in Northwestern Mexico* (1934, pp. vi, 94) and is by Carl Sauer. This treats of the following Indian tribes: Cora and Huichol; Acaxee and Xixime; Cahita, Tahue, and Guasave; The Mountain Margins of the Fuerte and Mayo Rivers; Pima Bajo; Seri; Opata and Jova, Pima Alta, Tepuhuán; Tarahumar; Concho; Jumano and Suma; and Jano and Jocome. The pamphlet has an excellent ethnographical map, and has a considerable amount of information useful to the historian.

By Way of Spanish America, by Myron Edward Duckles, is called "a holiday journal". It was published in 1932 by Follett Publishing Company of Chicago (pp. 95, \$1.00). This unpretentious volume is written in journal style, and relates to a journey beginning pre-

sumably at Chicago and leading south to Mobile and thence east to Jacksonville and south to Miami. Cuba, Guatemala, Honduras, Panama, Colombia (where the longest stay is made) were all visited. The itinerary is written in an easy, unconventional manner, as if for the entertainment of the family making the trip. It contains some things of interest to the traveler, and a chapter is added on how to travel and the advisability of knowing something of the lands through which one travels, especially something of their geography. The ordinary person taking a similar trip for the first time will find it of interest to read this small volume.

The Macmillan Company has added two more volumes to its series of Spanish language readings. One is *Tales of Spanish America*, by M. A. DeVites and Dorothy Torreyson, both of the University of Pittsburgh (1933, pp. 213, \$1.10). This contains stories by Luis Rodríguez Velasco, Adalberto A. Estava, Gerardo Díaz, Francisco Castañeda, Manuel Zúñiga Idiáquez, Santiago Argüello, Carlos Luis Saenz, José Oller, José Martí, Fabio Feallo, Manuel Padilla Dávila, José Antonio Calcaño, Cornelia Hispano, José María Egas, Manuel González Prada, Juan Capriles, Carlos Pezoa Velez, Calixto Otuela, Victoriano Montes, and Facundo Recalde. There are also numerous illustrations and a complete vocabulary. The other volume is *La Barraca*, by Vicente Blasco Ibáñez, and is edited by Paul T. Manchester (1933, pp. 239, \$1.20). The text "has been abridged to suit the needs of the class-room", but without harm to the story. The introduction treats of the life and writings of Ibáñez, and there are also many annotations and a vocabulary.

The Pan American Union, in honor of Pan American Day (April 14, 1934) distributed a mimeographed report of 30 pages (No. DA 34-4) entitled "Inter-American Commercial Relations". This was prepared in the Division of Financial Information and the Statistical Division of the Union. In addition to general basic facts relative to the commercial relations of the various American republics, a number of statistical tables showing imports and exports are presented. Up to the date of its distribution, the bulletin contains late commercial information.

Tome XI. of the "Travaux et Mémoires of the Institut d'Ethnologie de la Université de Paris", is the *Verdadera Relación delo*

sussedido enlos Reynos e Provincias del Perú, by Nicolao de Albenino. The original volume was published in Seville, in 1549. The present publication (Paris, 1930) is a facsimile reproduction with a preface by J. Toribio Medina. The volume can be purchased for 37 francs, 50 centimes in France or 56 francs, 25 centimes in foreign countries. Tome XX is *La Conquête spirituelle du Mexique* (Paris, 1933), by Robert Ricard. It is procurable in France and its colonies for 100 francs, and for 125 francs in foreign countries.